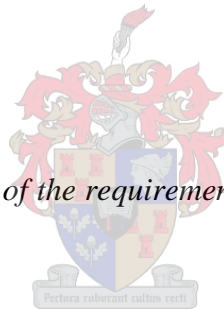


**RETAIL TRANSFORMATIONS AND CONSUMER PREFERENCES IN PAARL  
AND STELLENBOSCH: CBD VERSUS DECENTRALISED MALL**

BY JEROEN VENEMA

*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at  
Stellenbosch University.*



Supervisors: Prof Dr R Donaldson and Dr M Spocter

December 2016

## **DECLARATION**

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: .....

## **ABSTRACT**

Shopping malls represent high shopping convenience that contains much choice, and great access and entertainment. However, from an urban geographical standpoint, shopping malls represent decentralisation, car dependency and low access by disadvantaged consumers, who live remotely, without a car, in poor neighbourhoods. Shopping malls started to compete with retail in the central business district (CBD) in several countries throughout the world, and it would seem that the CBD is losing the retail battle. Furthermore there also are social consequences, such as low access by disadvantaged consumers, and whereas this topic is discussed in the global north, there are few South African examples of CBD retail and its consumers. Therefore, the aim of this thesis was to examine the retail transformations and the consumer preferences in two medium-sized South African cities, namely Paarl and Stellenbosch, which are located in the Western Cape. Through convenience sampling on the basis of 346 surveys, in-depth interviews with key informants, retail street observations and a Google street view analysis, this research provides an overview of the retail transformations experienced in the CBD and two selected shopping malls in Paarl and Stellenbosch, in combination with the experiences and preferences of disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. The empirical findings confirmed the negative impact on retail in the CBD in Paarl after the building of a new, decentralised shopping mall along with stronger, segregated retail use. On the other hand, the empirical findings in the CBD of Stellenbosch showed a strong sign of retail resilience, alongside a decline in retail in a decentralised shopping mall. The chances of retail resilience and a more resilient CBD, such as in Stellenbosch, were explained by the literature, in the context of diverse cultural, retail and economic facilities, along with the provision of education and public areas and buildings. Furthermore, limited access to retail facilities by disadvantaged consumers in Stellenbosch was not found, probably due to the presence of a very accessible city mall for disadvantaged consumers in the Stellenbosch CBD.

## **KEY WORDS**

Retail transformation, shopping malls, CBD retail, disadvantaged consumers

## OPSOMMING

Winkelsentrums verteenwoordig hoë inkopiegerief wat groot keuse, toegang en vermaak bevat. Vanuit 'n stedelik geografiese oogpunt verteenwoordig winkelsentrums egter desentralisasie, 'n afhanklikheid van voertuie en lae toegang deur benadeelde verbruikers wat op 'n afstand, en sonder 'n motor, in arm woonbuurte woon. Winkelsentrums oor die hele wêreld het begin om met waarin dit blyk dat die middestad se kleinhandel verloor die kleinhandel stryd om te kompeteer met die kleinhandel die middestad in verskeie lande. Verder is daar waarskynlik sosiale gevolge soos 'n lae toegang van benadeelde verbruikers en terwyl hierdie onderwerp word in die globale Noorde is Suid-Afrikaanse voorbeelde op kleinhandel middestad en sy verbruikers moeilik om te vind. Daarom, hierdie tesis doel is om die kleinhandel transformasies en verbruiker voorkeurs van gedesentraliseerde winkelsentrums in twee Suid-Afrikaanse mediumgrootte stede van die Paarl en Stellenbosch, geleë in die Wes-Kaap te ondersoek. Deur gerieflikheidsmonsterneming (*convenience sampling*) in die Paarl en Stellenbosch van  $n = 346$  opnames, in - diepte onderhoude van sleutel - informante, kleinhandel straat waarnemings en 'n Google street view -analise, hierdie navorsing bied 'n oorsig van die ervare kleinhandel transformasies van die middestad en twee gekies winkelsentrums in Paarl en Stellenbosch in kombinasie van die ervarings en voorkeurs van die benadeelde en bevoordeelde verbruikers. Die empiriese bevindinge bevestig die negatiewe impak op die kleinhandel die middestad in Paarl sedert die bou van 'n nuwe gedesentraliseerde winkelsentrum langs 'n sterker geskei kleinhandel gebruik. Aan die ander kant, die empiriese bevindinge toon 'n sterk teken van kleinhandel veerkragtigheid in die middestad van Stellenbosch langs 'n kleinhandel daling in 'n gedesentraliseerde winkelsentrum. Die kans kleinhandel veerkragtigheid en 'n meer bestand middestad soos in Stellenbosch was verklaar deur die literatuur waarin die konteks van die stad met die huidige diverse kultuur, kleinhandel, ekonomiese fasiliteite met die aanbod van onderwys en openbare areas en geboue. Verder is beperkte toegang van kleinhandel fasiliteite vir die benadeelde verbruikers in Stellenbosch nie waarskynlik gevind as gevolg van die huidige van 'n goeie toeganklike *city mall* vir die benadeelde verbruikers in die middestad van Stellenbosch.

## TREFWOORDE

Winkel transformasies, winkelsentrums, winkels in middestad, benadeelde verbruikers

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In December 2012 I decided to study abroad after I finishing my master's programme in Groningen, the Netherlands in September 2013. I had dreamed of visiting South Africa for a long time and had read a lot about its history, culture, economy and political changes and, of course, the connection between South Africa and the Netherlands. I therefore decided to look for a master's programme in South Africa that would connect to my completed studies. To put it shortly, I finally received an answer from the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Stellenbosch University in November 2013, and they asked me to hand in a research proposal, which was approved on 5 December 2013, the day of Nelson Mandela's death. I then arranged a visa and accommodation in Stellenbosch, where I arrived on 27 January 2014.

The experience in South Africa has taught me so much about a developing country with all its problems. I can conclude that, above all, South Africa is extreme: Extremely beautiful and joyful, but also extremely full of sorrow and pain. The poor and rich, the violence and the harmony, were all present in combination with the natural beauty of mountains, hills and endless beaches. Extremeness also came to the fore in my research when I spoke with people in the streets a bit longer than necessary during my surveys. Stories of hope, hate and faith came forward and reminded me that South Africa is healing from the past and is moving on. I can recommend and cannot emphasise enough that, for research in social science and urban geography, just listening to people is the most valuable and interesting source for research.

Besides learning about South Africa, I also learned a lot about myself while being alone in South Africa for 14 months. Fortunately, I met wonderful people and heard many stories, from which I learned a lot about the country. I therefore would like to thank everyone who supported me during my stay. First, I would like to thank my supervisors, Ronnie Donaldson and Manfred Spocter, who were so patient, and also brave to take me on as their student, as well as for their advice and help during my thesis work and stay in South Africa. Secondly, I would like to thank all my new friends, including those who experienced and shared South Africa with me for the first time. I especially would like to thank the Maties Theresea Pfenig from Austria, Antonius Mann and Malte Hansen from Germany, and Chris Wennekendonk from the Netherlands. Thirdly, I met many South Africans that I would like to thank for their friendship, help and the many interesting conversations we had. Especially Maties Aimee van der Reis, Mikail Barnard and Courtney Fritz. Finally, yet importantly, a very special thanks to George and Sharon, and to core guest Steve McKean from the USA, of Stumble Inn in Stellenbosch.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....II

ABSTRACT ..... III

OPSOMMING..... IV

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... V

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... VI

TABLES.....X

FIGURES..... XI

APPENDICES .....XII

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ..... 1

1.1 Introduction ..... 1

1.2 Social importance of CBD retail.....3

1.3 Research focus.....6

1.4 Research aim and objectives.....8

1.4.1 Location of research.....8

1.4.2 Aim and objectives .....9

1.5 Research execution ..... 10

1.6 Chapter layout ..... 11

CHAPTER 2: URBAN AND RETAIL DECENTRALISATION..... 13

2.1 What is decentralisation? ..... 14

2.2 Decentralisation: Where did it occur?..... 17

2.3 Consumer preferences and living traditions ..... 19

2.4 Retail decentralisation..... 22

2.4.1 What is retail?..... 22

2.4.2 Retail decentralisation and urban decentralisation ..... 23

2.4.3 Causes of retail decentralisation: From traditional store to shopping mall  
..... 24

2.5 CBD retail..... 26

2.5.1 Retail decline in the central business district ..... 27

2.5.2 Social implications and the central business district ..... 28

2.5.3 Resilience of retail in the central business district ..... 30

2.6 The disadvantaged consumer ..... 31

<b>CHAPTER 3: URBAN AND RETAIL DECENTRALISATION:</b>	
<b>SOUTH AFRICA .....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>3.1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>3.2 Decentralisation .....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>3.2.1 Economy .....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>3.2.2 Car dependency .....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>3.2.3 Segregation.....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>3.2.4 Planning system .....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>3.2.5 Summary .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.3 Rise of shopping malls.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.3.1 Background.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.3.2 Disadvantaged consumers .....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>3.3.3 The decline of retail in the CBD.....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>3.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>4.1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>4.1.1 Research approach.....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>4.2 Research questions .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>4.3 Applied methods and data analysis.....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>4.3.1 Retail transformations: Questions I to III .....</b>	<b>51</b>
4.3.1.1 Store quality categorisation .....	54
4.3.1.2 In-depth interviews .....	55
<b>4.3.2 Survey on the consumer: Questions IV and V.....</b>	<b>56</b>
4.3.2.1 Target population: Who is the disadvantaged consumer? .....	56
4.3.2.2 Consumers' experiences and preferences .....	58
4.3.2.3 Sampling.....	58
<b>4.3.3 Data analysis .....</b>	<b>59</b>
4.3.3.1 Descriptive analysis .....	59
4.3.3.2 Nonprobability convenience sampling and statistical analysis .....	60
<b>4.3.4 Background study: Question VI .....</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>4.4 Ethical issues .....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>4.5 Summary of the methodology.....</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY OF PAARL.....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>5.1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>63</b>

5.2	Lady Grey Street .....	64
5.3	Paarl Mall.....	65
5.4	Findings on the retail transformation.....	69
5.4.1	Lady Grey Street .....	69
5.4.2	Paarl Mall.....	71
5.4.3	Comparison: The mall and the CBD .....	72
5.5	Paarl consumer survey .....	75
5.5.1	Demographic analysis .....	75
5.5.2	The disadvantaged and advantaged consumer: Where do they shop? ...	79
5.5.3	Shopping experiences .....	83
5.5.3.1	Statistical analysis .....	86
5.6	Summary .....	89
<b>CHAPTER 6: STELLENBOSCH SURVEY .....</b>		<b>93</b>
6.1	Introduction .....	93
6.2	Stellenbosch CBD .....	94
6.3	Stellenbosch Square in Jamestown .....	95
6.4	Findings on retail transformation .....	98
6.4.1	Bird Street and Church Street: Strong growth .....	99
6.4.2	Stellenbosch Square: A downward trend .....	103
6.4.3	Comparison: Stellenbosch Square and the CBD.....	105
6.5	Consumer survey in the Stellenbosch CBD.....	107
6.5.1	Demographic analysis .....	107
6.5.2	Where do the surveyed respondents shop?.....	109
6.5.3	What are the shopping experiences in Stellenbosch? .....	111
6.6	Summary .....	113
<b>CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION .....</b>		<b>115</b>
7.1	Introduction .....	115
7.2	Decentralised shopping malls in Paarl and Stellenbosch.....	116
7.2.1	What were the effects of decentralised shopping malls on the CBD's retail? .....	117
7.2.2	What were the effects of decentralised shopping malls on the disadvantaged consumer? .....	118
7.2.3	Comparing Paarl and Stellenbosch .....	119
7.3	Theoretical implications.....	121



7.4 Limitations of the study .....122

7.5 Future research.....124

REFERENCES.....127

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS .....137

APPENDICES .....139

APPENDIX A: LIST OF RETAIL CATEGORIES.....141

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE.....143

APPENDIX C: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (1) .....147

APPENDIX D: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (2) .....151

APPENDIX E: USE OF GOOGLE STREET VIEW IMAGES .....153

TABLES

Table 2.1 Percentage change of city core and suburbs in developed countries..... 18

Table 2.2 Demand and supply sides of retail and decentralisation.....25

Table 4.1 Average income level of neighbourhoods in the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein municipalities.....57

Table 5.1 Absolute retail change by retail and quality category.....70

Table 5.2 Consumer demographics of respondents and by survey location in Paarl .....76

Table 5.3 Shopping preferences of the advantaged consumer in Paarl .....81

Table 5.4 Shopping preferences of the disadvantaged consumer in Paarl.....82

Table 5.5 Results on shopping experiences on the city centre in Paarl .....84

Table 5.6 Results on shopping experiences in the shopping mall in Paarl .....85

Table 5.7 Results of the statistical analysis .....87

Table 6.1 Retail change in Bird Street from 2009 to 2014 per category ..... 101

Table 6.2 Results of retail observations of Bird Street and Church Street combined, 2009 to 2014..... 103

Table 6.3 Consumer demographics of the surveyed population in the CBD of Stellenbosch ..... 108

Table 6.4 Shopping preferences of the surveyed consumers ..... 111

Table 6.5 Results of shopping experiences in the shopping locations in Stellenbosch ..... 112

Table 7.1 Conclusions on retail transformation ..... 117

Table 7.2 Conclusions from the consumer’s survey ..... 118

## FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Selected case cities in the Western Cape province.....	8
Figure 2.1 Decentralisation and urban growth.....	15
Figure 2.2 The urbanisation cycle.....	16
Figure 4.1 Location of the selected shopping streets and shopping malls.....	52
Figure 4.2 Examples of B retail in Lady Grey Street, Paarl .....	55
Figure 5.1 Study Area: Paarl.....	63
Figure 5.2 Map of Paarl Mall.....	66
Figure 5.3 Relative and absolute retail change in Lady Grey Street from 2010 to 2014 by retail category .....	69
Figure 5.4 Retail stock of Paarl Mall in 2011 and 2015 .....	72
Figure 5.5 Retail composition of both shopping areas .....	73
Figure 5.6 A and B retail composition of Lady Grey Street in 2014.....	74
Figure 5.7 Proportions of surveyed population by income level .....	77
Figure 5.8 Proportions of surveyed population by car ownership .....	78
Figure 5.9 Proportions of surveyed population in terms of transportation .....	78
Figure 5.10 Proportions of answers from disadvantaged and advantaged consumers on 'How often do you visit the city centre?' .....	80
Figure 5.11 Proportions of answers from disadvantaged and advantaged consumers on 'How often do you visit the shopping mall?' .....	80
Figure 6.1 Study Area: Stellenbosch .....	94
Figure 6.2 Stellenbosch Square.....	96
Figure 6.3 Street view images of Bird Street (left) and Church Street (right) in Stellenbosch.....	99
Figure 6.4 Relative and absolute change in retail in Bird Street from 2009 to 2014 by retail category .....	100
Figure 6.5 Relative and absolute retail change in Church Street from 2009 to 2014 by retail category .....	102
Figure 6.6 Retail stock of Stellenbosch Square in 2011 and 2014 .....	104
Figure 6.7 Retail composition of the shopping streets in the CBD and Stellenbosch Square.....	106
Figure 6.8 Proportions of surveyed population in Stellenbosch CBD in terms of how often they visited the shopping mall and the city centre .....	110

## **APPENDICES**

- Appendix A: List of retail categories
- Appendix B: The questionnaire
- Appendix C: The in-depth interview (1)
- Appendix D: The in-depth interview (2)
- Appendix E: Use of Google Street View images

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*Despite the aspirations of some developers, mall culture is not about overcoming isolation and connecting with others, but about privately surfing from store to store – in the presence of others, but not in their company* (Putnam 2000: 211).

### 1.1 Introduction

As Putnam (2000) explains, shopping malls and the mall culture have shown tremendous growth in the developed world. The shopping mall now is conquering ground in the urban areas of developing countries, in which suburbanisation, car use and the necessary infrastructure are rising from the ground. Countries such as China, Turkey, India, Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa face economic growth connected with the growing use of cars and the building of shopping malls. South Africa is one of these countries that, according to several newspapers, is ‘mall’ on a high scale; it even would appear that South Africa has become the shopping mall capital of the world (Steyn 2014). Regarding the numbers of shopping malls in South Africa, 1 785 shopping malls larger than 2 000 m<sup>2</sup> have been built, which makes South Africa the highest-ranking country in this regard. But what does this mean from an urban geographical perspective, for example of the CBDs in South Africa?

The main consequence that has arisen from examples in the developed world is that shopping malls have moved the retail sector out of the city centres (Guy 1998). Central business districts (CBDs) are threatened by the continuous retail decentralisation in cities, where retail is continually moving out of the city centre into malls (Wrigley & Lowe 2002). Retail investments in the high street have halved in the United Kingdom since the mid-1990s (Jones 2010). The closure of small retail stores is evident in India and South Africa (Kalhan 2007; Ligthelm 2008), and vulnerable low-income neighbourhoods in Israel are more likely to have less access to retail facilities because of urban decentralisation (Rotem-Mindali 2012). Lastly, retail activities in Turkey have decreased in the city centres (Erkip, Omur & Akinci 2014).

The reason for the growth of shopping malls can be explained firstly by the population and economic growth in the last 60 years that has caused an immense change in cities and their CBDs. Together with the development of the automobile, rising purchasing power, allow consumers to consider other living locations, for example a bigger house out of town, had led to urban decentralisation. Urban decentralisation is the main force behind retail decentralisation, which can be explained as part of the ‘urbanisation cycle’ theory of Champion (2001) and Geyer and Kontuly (1993). This cycle explains that cities decentralise and shrink

which develop new cities around the primate cities and create metropolitan regions. These changes are caused by economic, technological and transport changes, referring to the post-Fordist or postmodern city in which high knowledge and telecommunications economy are features of the new economy (Lever 2001). Most of these new industries are organised decentrally organised and have caused job and population decentralisation in developed countries. This phenomenon of urban decentralisation started in America but has now become visible in developed and developing countries throughout the world. Suburbs are expanding and new metropolitan areas are starting to form in many countries, among others Japan, South Africa, Brazil, Turkey and Mexico.

The inevitable result of urban decentralisation has been retail decentralisation, in which stores have followed the relocated customer towards the suburbs and edges of cities. The first signs of this became visible in the United States of America (USA), in which retail activity had decreased in central business districts in the 1950s and 1960s (Friedman 1973; Wassmer 2002). In addition, decentralisation started in Western Europe after World War II (WWII) and, in the last few decades, in newly emerging economies. Retail decentralisation is best explained as the relocation of stores to outside the CBD, stimulated by urban decentralisation (Wassmer 2002). The main factors that are explained in the literature are the post-industrial economy, consumer preferences and living traditions, car dependency and the country's planning systems, all of which decide to what extent a country decentralises (Chin 2002; Salles & Burgi 2004; Couch, Leontidou & Arnstberg 2007; Leontidou et al. 2007; Jain et al. 2013; Mabin, Butcher & Block 2013).

Next to decentralisation is the development of a new retail formula. Whereas traditional stores owned by small shopkeepers were the most common before WWII, new, efficient retail concepts owned by multiple and large firms were created after the 1950s, along with electronic cash registers and bar code systems. Finally, but importantly, the new concept of the shopping mall quickly became very popular, as it offers a variety of stores with good accessibility, is parking friendly, and everything is under one rooftop. In other words, it is the perfect retail formula for car-borne consumers.

The forces behind these developments are mainly supported by economic reasons, in terms of which the offering of new retail formulas is meeting a demand. Countries with a high car dependency were confronted with new problems such as traffic congestion and empty CBDs through extensive decentralisation. Shopping malls, on the other hand, are easily accessible by car, have enough parking space, and are relatively safe and controlled. These conditions make

it possible to attract many new customers who has bought a car and moved to the suburbs of the city.

One of the developing countries that has shown immense growth in shopping malls in the last decade is South Africa. This country could be mentioned as one of the global examples of extensive urban decentralisation in which high car dependency, segregation, formal racial apartheid planning and post-industrial economic growth have caused urban quartering and gated communities, leading to decentralisation on a maximum scale. The decentralisation and high car dependency, in combination with segregation, were the right conditions to build shopping malls on a massive rate in South Africa. From 238 shopping malls in 2002, there were 1 443 shopping malls in 2010, of which 45% have been built in Gauteng province (Gauteng Province 2012). By 2014, 1 785 shopping malls had been completed (Steyn 2014). Large malls that exceed a size of 30 000 m<sup>2</sup> would have increased to 180 in 2016, which is twice as many compared to 2008 (Muller 2013). Compared to other emerging markets, South Africa has the most shopping malls, with Brazil (with 200 million people) having close on 400 malls and Mexico (with 122 million people) closer to 500. Only Australia (23 million people) has close to the number of South Africa, with around 1 400 shopping malls (Prinsloo 2013; Steyn 2014). Whereas South Africa has passed the peak of shopping mall development, other countries, such as Brazil, India, China, Indonesia and Turkey, are developing shopping malls at a faster rate (Prinsloo 2013).

## **1.2 Social importance of CBD retail**

From a neoliberal point of view these conditions are unavoidable if customers are provided with the maximum freedom of choice and a free market. However, the question that arises is whether the high growth of shopping malls has social consequences.

From this perspective, one of the main problems that can be identified is the decline in retail in CBDs. The retail sector is a very important part of cities, and is the last step in the industrial chain of offering products and services to the customer. Retail also is much more important than just the shopping facility: Spatial qualities such as liveability and access by different income classes play a significant role when retail is presented in the streets of the city centre. City centres and their public role are not only used for economic reasons, but also for social reasons regarding liveability and community interaction. The main argument in favour of retail in the high street is its crucial role in the liveability of cities. Shops and a high-quality retail street make public spaces safer and more interesting (Jacobs 1961; Baker & Wood 2009; Gehl 2011; Muhlebach & Muhlebach 2013; Erkip, Omur & Akinci 2014). The destruction of the high street in the CBD has many bad influences on public spaces and spatial quality. The public

street is an important part of urban street life, which is also regarded as the life between buildings. The concept of public spatial quality is an important concept to uplift the CBD of cities. A striking idea is the 'life between the buildings' that makes cities and streets attractive for all kinds of activities – both necessary and social activities (Gehl 2011). Gehl (2011) points out that high-quality urban street life has to do with contact between people and the outdoor activities of people in the streets.

Retail is very important in street life to maintain safety and to attract people to the streets. A simple explanation from Jane Jacobs confirms why stores and their storekeepers play an important social role in the CBD:

Storekeepers and other small businessmen are typically strong proponents of peace and order themselves; they hate broken windows and holdups; they hate having customers made nervous about safety. They are great street watchers and sidewalk guardians if present in sufficient numbers (Jacobs 1961: 37).

The presence of retail in the shopping streets, and therefore the presence of customers and pedestrians, make the city safer because of social control. Retail is one of the functions of what cities offer: Urban social quality is high when much interaction is possible between people. This contact is possible by changing and planning the physical setting of streets and urban patterns. Retail in the city centre, and pubs and restaurants stimulate contact between people and attract people to visit the streets, which enhance street safety (Jacobs 1961). The common features of a qualitative urban environment are the presence of sidewalks, pedestrian-priority streets, and slow traffic, as well as the stimulation of contact in the street, which implies no walls, short distances, low speeds, different houses and stores that are built orientated towards each other (Gehl 2011: 72).

Other important factors of city liveability are the presence of public spaces such as squares, parks and museums, in combination with bars, clubs, government buildings, pedestrian spaces and a variety of retail. The combination of different functions and variety makes the CBD attractive for different groups of people, such as low-class and high-class inhabitants and visitors, and this makes the city an interesting hub of interaction. According to Jacobs (1961), Baker and Wood (2009) and Gehl (2011), a diversity of functions leads to a more attractive city, which will attract more investment when considering the economic approach and creative class theory (Florida 2002), in which long-run economic growth is supported by the creative class and incubators of creativity that are attracted by interesting, diverse cities, and especially CBDs, in the USA.



Despite the potential of CBDs, the rise of shopping malls generally has a negative impact on city centres around the world, causing an overall decrease of retail in the city centre. There is a continuous debate about ‘the death of the shopping streets’ in the USA and in Europe, in which the cause of it is often explained by the emerging urban decentralisation through suburbanisation (Portas 2011; Findlay & Sparks, 2012). In the end, it threatens the use of public urban streets and the liveability of the CBD (Erkip, Omur & Akinci et al. 2014). However, in addition to the death of the shopping street, new life also is visible in the shopping streets, in which new economic activities emerge. Some authors emphasise the resilience of the high street in the CBD, in which easy access for pedestrians and good public transport and authentic stores are becoming stronger (Wrigley & Dolega 2011; Muhlebach & Muhlebach 2013; Ozuduru, Varol & Ercoskun Yalsiner 2014).

Besides the geographical impact from decentralised malls on the CBD’s retail there also is the potential social impact on consumers. Because of the relocation of retail towards the edge of cities, it could affect the demand for facilities by the low and middle classes (Rotem-Mindali 2012). Malls therefore could be explained as social fortresses and exclusion zones for the disadvantaged consumer, because of the car-dependent, exclusive and expensive nature of malls. Consumers who are disadvantaged often do not have a car and live remotely from new retail developments, and hence are not able to experience the convenience that a shopping mall offers.

Williams and Hubbard (2001) explain that the disadvantaged consumer actually does not feel so disadvantaged and still experiences a high level of retail. However, polarisation is still visible in which disadvantaged consumers avoid the more upmarket locations that are visited by advantaged consumers (Williams & Hubbard 2001). Piacentini, Hibbert and Al-Dajani (2001) explain the divide between functional and non-functional visits, in which non-functional visits, for example, are for window shopping and social interaction instead of buying goods. The disadvantaged consumer probably would be more interested to visit the more upmarket shopping areas, especially for these types of visits, despite his/her low budget. According to Bromley and Thomas (2002), the CBD is the most important retail location for the disadvantaged consumer. In the South African context the accessibility of shopping malls to the disadvantaged also is a racial feature, as black, coloured and white people still live mostly in racially allocated neighbourhoods as designated by the former apartheid government. Poor neighbourhoods that were mostly allocated to black and coloured people are largely remote from the CBD.

The conditions of high and extensive growth in shopping malls in South Africa in the last years and the importance of the social role and liveability that stores provide in the CBD provide the start to the thesis's research focus on shopping malls in a South African context. There is enough literature to assume that the city centre has important qualities for retail businesses. However, retail decentralisation continues and the mall has become more visible than ever in the urban area. In South Africa, mall development is an important topic and the growth of shopping malls seems to continue in this country (Gauteng Province 2012; Muller 2013; Steyn 2014). The reason for this lies in South Africa's urban patterns, car dependency, segregation and the economic situation, which create the perfect conditions for mall development. On the other hand, there are signs of CBD revival in developed countries. From this perspective it was regarded as interesting to find out whether South Africa shows retail revival in its CBDs or retail decentralisation. Furthermore, considering the South African segregation and post-apartheid context, a further interesting point relates to the facility level and experience of malls and CBD retail of different income groups and neighbourhoods.

### **1.3 Research focus**

Despite the primacy of the topic in South Africa and the large amount of research in other areas of the world, there has been little research on African cities and the social effects of shopping mall development. Considering the immense growth in the number of malls in which developers had a 'free ride' to build shopping malls in South Africa (Kudelasz 1997), it is remarkable that the topic of shopping malls and their socio-spatial consequences is relatively unexplored.

The debate in the literature sometimes refers to South African cases, with most of the literature describing mall development within city revitalisation, urban renewal or tourist attractions, for example in Cape Town (Ferreia & Visser 2007). Other African literature emphasises the disadvantages of mall development: Nkonge (2010) mentions the commodification of the public space by shopping malls and addresses the limited access by citizens to these 'public' spaces. Only a few examples can be found from a socio-spatial perspective. In South Africa, Ligthelm (2008) explored the economic impacts of mall development on small township retailers and showed a generally negative economic impact. Furthermore, Warring (1994) researched the social and economic impact of a regional shopping centre in Somerset West. Warring's study was not empirical, but its conclusions were based mainly on a literature search for predicting the plausible impacts. Louw (1999) researched the influence of regional shopping centres on the Stellenbosch CBD. His empirical research was based on the buying patterns of different suburbs in Stellenbosch and concluded that middle-

and high-income groups rather shop in the suburbs than in the city centre. The main reasons were the lack of parking places, unattractive environment and reduced range of the variety of goods in the centre. Louw (1999) also inferred that newly built shopping centres could have a negative effect on the future of the Stellenbosch CBD. However, the effects on the CBD of mall development was not assessed empirically.

It can be said that the emergence of shopping malls and the connection of this to retail deterioration in the CBD is highly under-examined in South Africa. South Africa is an interesting country because the context differs in its impact and the social structure of malls and high streets, in general caused by the aftereffects of apartheid and racial segregation, crime and neoliberalism (Houssay-Holzschuch & Teppo 2009: 357). Whereas Ligthelm (2008) focuses on the economic impacts of mall development and on small store owners, and Louw (1999) analysed the buying patterns in Stellenbosch and sketched the retail impacts on the CBD, this thesis tries to understand the retail transformations and the consumer experiences and preferences between the decentralised shopping malls and the CBD.

Guy (1998) explains that retail decentralisation has social implications in developed and developing countries. In developing countries, the competition between small shops and large-scale retail become visible and threaten the profitability of small-scale retail (Ligthelm 2008). Furthermore, the CBD retail is threatened by newly built shopping malls. Furthermore, social implications concerning equity aspects also are visible, as there is a lack of accessibility by low-income groups or the so-called disadvantaged consumer without a car living remotely from retail facilities. In this regard, South Africa is a special case due to its unique social economic organisation post-apartheid, and its spatial segregation of quartering and gated communities.

There also is some sporadic research on the disadvantaged consumer and his/her experience of retail facilities. Examples that are given are mainly newly built shopping malls near townships (Posel 2010; Gauteng Province 2012). Furthermore, research on the retail transformation of CBDs and its social impacts is discussed mainly in relation to CBD revitalisation and big cities or metropolitan areas such as Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. Even more striking is that smaller cities show more CBD decline, probably because they are less of an attraction to tourists. The available literature on decentralisation is about Stellenbosch (Musakwa 2013) and Plettenberg Bay (Van Rensburg & Campbell 2011). Sources that refer to the decay of CBDs or plans for their revitalisation refer mostly to Johannesburg or Cape Town, instead of smaller sized cities. The combination of a research gap in relation to socio-spatial impacts in South Africa from the retail decline of CBDs and decentralised malls in small to medium-sized cities was what initiated this thesis. To provide a

better understanding of the impacts of mall development in South Africa, this research focuses on two medium-sized cities in the Western Cape province and examines the socio-spatial impacts of decentralised shopping malls.

1.4 Research aim and objectives

1.4.1 Location of research

Two secondary cities located within the functional region of the Cape Town metropolitan area served as study sites. These two cities, Stellenbosch and Paarl, have new and old mall developments and a traditional high shopping street. Figure 1.1 shows a map of the Cape Town area and the location of the two case cities.

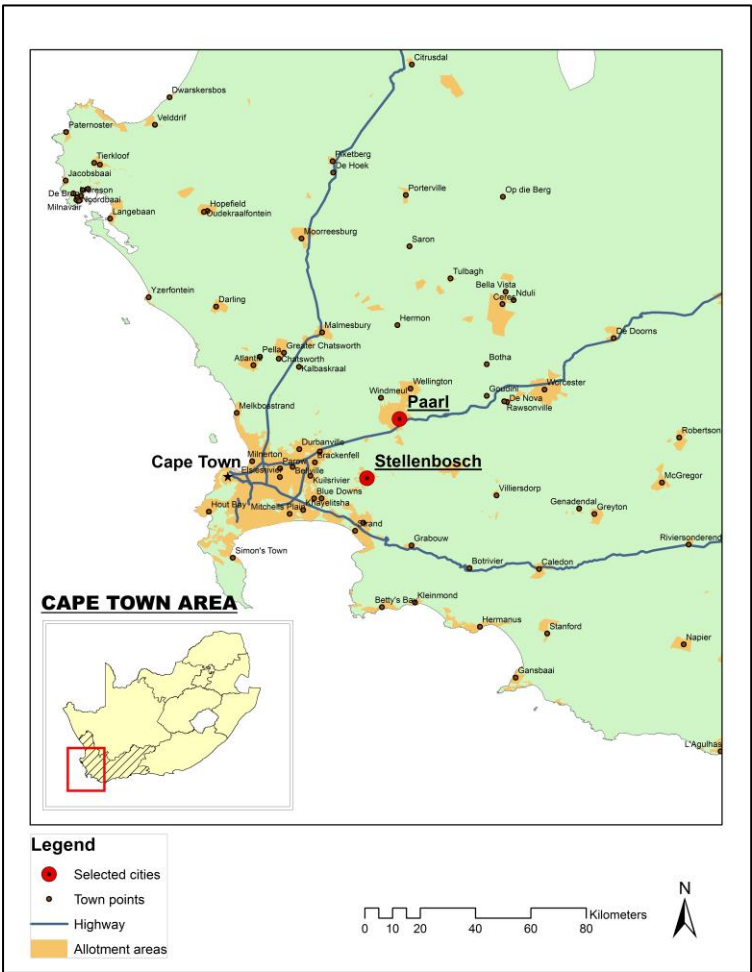


Figure 1.1 Selected case cities in the Western Cape province

Both towns scored very high in the quantitative development index based on resources, economy, infrastructure and development potential (Zietsman, Ferreira & Van der Merwe 2006).

### 1.4.2 Aim and objectives

The global literature clearly explains the negative consequences of shopping mall growth, such as CBD retail decline and restricted access by the disadvantaged consumer. The research aim of the study thus was to examine the effects of decentralised shopping malls in Paarl and Stellenbosch on the disadvantaged consumer and on CBD retail in both cities. To achieve in the aim, the following objectives were formulated:

- \* To examine the literature on the deeper causes of retail decentralisation, shopping malls and their social impacts in the world and in South Africa.
- \* To give an overview of and background to retail transformations in the CBD and decentralised malls of Paarl and Stellenbosch.
- \* To examine the shopping location preferences of disadvantaged and advantaged consumers in Paarl and Stellenbosch.

The first objective was separated into two themes – First, to examine the deeper causes of shopping malls and the fundamentals of decentralisation and retail decentralisation. For example, ‘Why are there shopping malls?’ and ‘What are the foundations of decentralisation?’ Secondly, the literature study considered research questions such as: ‘What are the social implications of retail decentralisation and shopping malls?’ and ‘What are the implications for retail in the CBD and why is the CBD important?’ These questions and the first objective are discussed in Chapter 2.

The second objective was to examine the actual retail transformations empirically in Paarl and Stellenbosch. Relevant questions that were investigated included the following: Is there a decline in retail in the CBD or malls? Is there a difference in kinds of retail? In addition, the background to the CBDs of Paarl and Stellenbosch and their decentralised malls provide information on the impacts on the local community, retail locations, and the building and planning history, and provide a complete picture of the CBD retail and malls in the two case cities. Important background questions in this case were: ‘What were the feelings of the local communities, groups and individuals about this project?’ and ‘How was the planning process for the decentralised malls implemented?’ These questions are discussed as the results of the thesis in Chapter 5, ‘Case study of Paarl’, and Chapter 6, ‘Stellenbosch Survey’.

The third objective was to define the changes for the consumer who lives remotely and in the poorer neighbourhoods of Paarl and Stellenbosch. The outcome of this objective explains the difference in buying patterns of these consumers. Important questions that were asked were:

‘Do different shoppers (advantaged and disadvantaged) experience a different facility level in the stores?’ ‘Do consumers (advantaged and disadvantaged) prefer to shop in the shopping mall or in the CBD, and why?’ These questions are addressed as the results of the thesis in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

The use and definition of the ‘disadvantaged consumer’ in the thesis is discussed extensively in Chapter 4, on methodology, which provide more detail on the research approach, methods, analysis, ethics and limitations. The next section provides a brief overview of the research methods used for achieving the objectives.

## **1.5 Research execution**

For attaining the first objective, a literature study was done on the issue of retail decentralisation and discovered that the main cause of retail decentralisation was the preceding urban decentralisation. Furthermore, it also presents ideas, theories and information on shopping malls and their negative social implications derived from the global literature. Decentralisation was discussed and compared on a global scale with other countries. Furthermore, the ideas, theories and information on retail decentralisation from a global perspective were applied to the South African context, along with South African literature, research reports and statistics. The literature study is provided in Chapter 2.

For the second objective, observations of the shopping streets in the CBD of Paarl and Stellenbosch were done in May 2014. The same streets were analysed to clarify the retail decentralisation in Paarl and Stellenbosch in this period by using Google Street View images from 2009 and 2010. Furthermore, in-depth interviews were held with shop owners to provide a full picture of the retail changes in the CBD in the preceding five years. Two shopping malls were selected for examining the retail change in the shopping malls – one in Paarl and one in Stellenbosch. The stores were counted and compared, and in-depth interviews were conducted to provide information on the retail changes of the preceding five years. For a full background to the malls, municipalities and neighbouring residents of the malls were interviewed. Overall, the interview transcripts were analysed and compared to find similarities and differences.

The last objective, relating to the shopping preferences of consumers, demanded a different approach. To provide a picture of the differences between disadvantaged and advantaged consumers, a survey was conducted among residents of Paarl and Stellenbosch. The same shopping streets and malls as in the second objective were used to question random consumers on their shopping preference locations. People were asked about their shopping preferences and answers were plotted on a Likert scale. Questions differentiated the respondents according to age, gender, neighbourhood, car ownership and further on their opinions of the CBD and

shopping malls as shopping locations. In total, 346 surveys were conducted. The results were coded, and analysed descriptively and statistically. Overall, the demographic data on car ownership, neighbourhood, age and gender were analysed in terms of frequency, and in relation to the main questions about preference for shopping locations, such as shopping mall or CBD retail. The statistical analysis included a comparison between the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers in which the disadvantaged consumers were selected by neighbourhood of residence and car ownership. Finally, a Mann-Whitney test was conducted on all the ordinal variables to test for differences between the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. More information on data analysis, categorisation of data and the methods used is available in Chapter 4, on methodology.

## **1.6 Chapter layout**

The rise of shopping malls that happened in South Africa in the last decade could be explained by urbanisation cycle theory. The urbanisation cycle explains the way in which cities develop around the world because of the rise of post-industrialism and the rise of the automobile, which have had a tremendous effect on where retail is located. This leads to the literature study in Chapter 2, which looks at the causes of retail decentralisation through urban decentralisation, and its social impacts in the world. The findings from the global literature on urban decentralisation and shopping malls are applied to the South African context in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the methodology and methods of the research. The main subjects in Chapter 4 are the research approach, the chosen methods, and the data analysis. The objectives of the retail transformations and consumers' preferences were transformed into sub-research questions and each was discussed with its methods and data analysis. At the end of the chapter, ethical issues and research limitations are reviewed.

Following Chapter 4 are the results chapters, separated into Chapter 5 on Paarl and Chapter 6 on Stellenbosch. Both chapters elaborate on the results of the conducted research. The background story of Stellenbosch and Paarl is discussed, along with the results of the retail transformation of their CBDs and selected decentralised malls. Lastly, the results from the surveys and their descriptive and statistical analysis are presented.

Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the thesis. It discusses the findings and conclusions from the literature study and fieldwork, including the limitations of the study. At the end, it provides a recommendation for future research.





## CHAPTER 2: URBAN AND RETAIL DECENTRALISATION

Decentralised shopping malls such as in Paarl and Stellenbosch have become visible everywhere in the world. Some countries have more shopping malls than others, and this has to do with several reasons. Most of the malls are decentralised, located far from the city centre, and probably mainly accessible by car. This chapter tries to examine the background of the deeper causes of decentralised shopping malls as are found, for example, in Paarl and Stellenbosch, which are the two case cities for this thesis. To do so, this chapter has to go back to the fundamentals of why retail has decentralised, and also why this has happened in the form of malls? The fundamental reason that comes through is urban decentralisation, which was the trigger for the retail sector to decentralise.

Decentralisation and the rise of malls first occurred in the developed world and particularly in the USA. Here, urban decentralisation came forward after the tremendous centralised growth of cities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cities started to decentralise in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when suburbs were formed and small cities started to grow that were located around big cities. Later, the small cities became part of the urban metropolitan area. In other words, total urban decentralisation had occurred. When the roads were laid and residences emerged in the outer city area, stores relocated by following their costumers (Birch 2009). Wassmer (2002: 1309-1310) explains why retail decentralised in an overall trend of decentralisation of residences and companies:

This suburbanisation of retail activity was caused by migration of existing metropolitan residents from central cities to the suburbs, an overall increase in metropolitan residents and a greater percentage of them choosing to live in the suburbs and falling automobile transport costs, which reduced ties to a central shopping location.

Why did this happen and what is the relation to retail and shopping malls? This is what this chapter aimed to find out. The location of retail activity is strongly connected to other urban activities, such as residential and companies. There is no doubt that the explanation for retail decentralisation and shopping mall development lies in the overall explanation of urbanisation theory, which explains the main decentralised movement of economic activities and residents. Therefore, the next sections explain why and how cities decentralise and exactly how this is related to retail. It needs to be borne in mind that some confusion could arise, as several concepts are used to explain the same phenomenon in the literature. Labels such as urban sprawl, suburbanisation, counter-urbanisation and decentralisation refer to the same topic.

The first question that had to be answered is what exactly is decentralisation? Whereas decentralisation represents general suburbanisation or relocation from the city core, it also refers to one of the characteristics of urban sprawl.

## **2.1 What is decentralisation?**

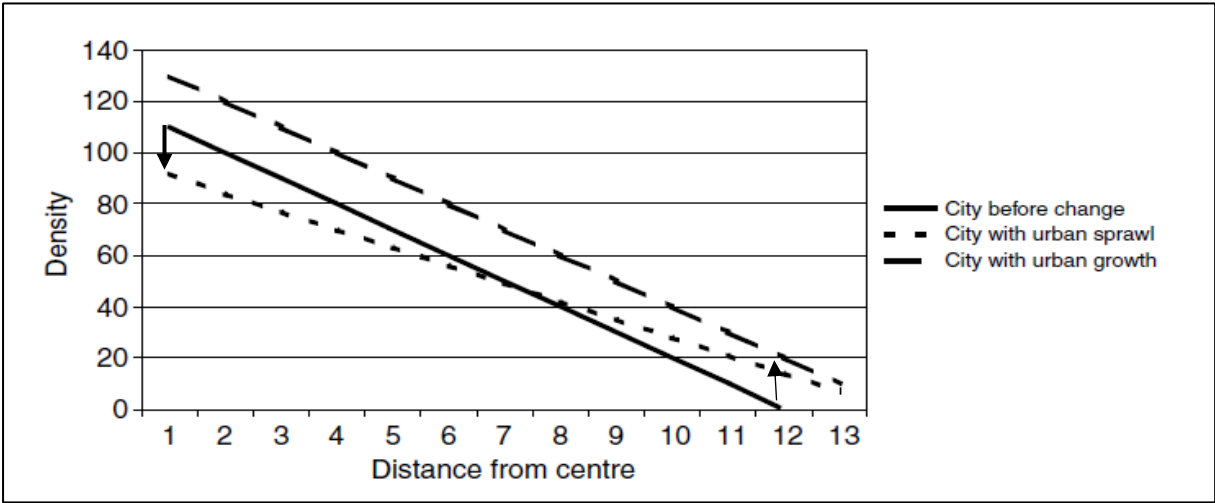
Whereas urban sprawl refers to certain negative characteristics of decentralisation, decentralisation itself simply is the general move from the city centre to the edge of cities, and there are a wide variety of views on, assumptions about and definitions of this topic (Galster et al. 2001; Chin 2002; Frenkel & Orenstein 2011; Zeng et al. 2013). A divide can be observed in the literature, although not so clear at first sight, between the use of the word sprawl and the concept of urban decentralisation.

Sprawl is a feature of car dependency (Burchell et al. 2005; Glaeser 2011), and other studies feature sprawl as related to low density (Galster et al. 2001; Ewing, Pendall & Chen 2002; Torrens 2006; 2008). In general there are nine characteristics that are related to sprawl. Not all of these characteristics would be visible in a sprawling city, which makes it more difficult to define and measure urban sprawl. From the literature it is possible to say that urban sprawl contains at least the following characteristics; (1) leapfrogging development, (2) scattering, (3) discontinuity, (4) often accessed by car or “built around the car”, (5) clustering of commercial activities, (6) decentralisation, (7) low density, (8) segregation, and (9) a homogeneity of land use (Ewing 1997; Galster et al. 2001; Ewing, Pendall & Chen 2002; Burchell et al. 2005; Couch, Leontidou & Arnstberg 2007; Torrens 2008; Frenkel & Orenstein 2011). Urban sprawl is described as an urban shape or physical pattern that is observable and measurable to a certain extent. From the previous literature it can be seen that urban decentralisation is one of the characteristics of urban sprawl, but it actually refers to a general urban decentralisation process.

To put it simply, the expression ‘decentralisation’, in general, describes the opposite of ‘centralisation’. However, in the literature there are again various explanations of decentralisation, as is the case with urban sprawl. Sometimes, decentralisation is described as a characteristic of urban sprawl (Galster et al. 2001; Ewing, Pendall & Chen 2002; Torrens 2008).

The literature implies that decentralisation is a different urban process to urban sprawl. It could be described as a moderate process (Couch, Leontidou & Arnstberg 2007) of low-density development patterns and a growing distance of urban development from the CBD (Galster et al. 2001). Decentralisation is not a feature of discontinuous city expansion, or leapfrogging and excessive waste of land and forests (Wassmer 2002; Patacchini & Zenou 2009: 143), which refers rather to sprawl.

Figure 2.1 shows exactly what decentralisation is. The figure explains that cities could experience urban growth without decentralisation. This occurs if the city grows equally from the city centre to the city edge and the city’s density expands along the centre to the edges of a city.



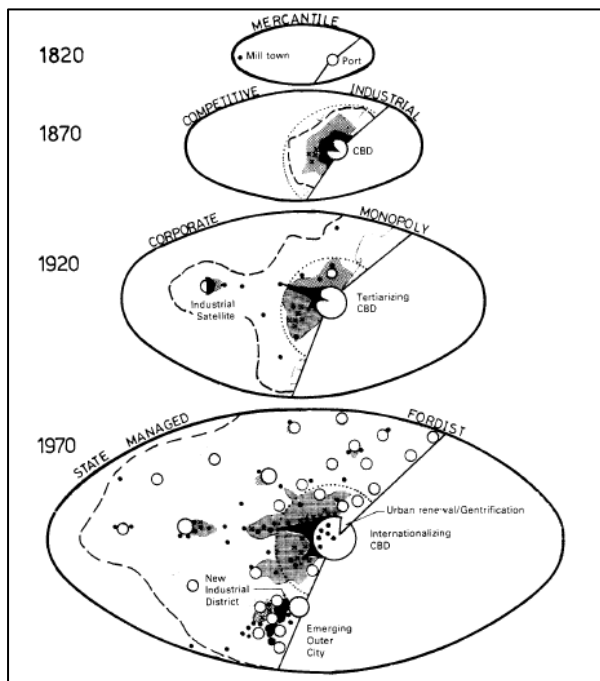
Source: Adapted from Couch, Leontidou & Arnstberg (2007: 6)

Figure 2.1 Decentralisation and urban growth

The figure shows the less dense process, in which the density of the city centre declines and increases at the edges of the city. Here, decentralisation is illustrated by the dotted line. The density in the CBD declines while the denseness of the city’s edge expands. In other words, the line becomes more flat.

How the line becomes more flat is explained by the urbanisation cycle. The urbanisation cycle is a theoretical model that explains how cities evolved and decentralised in developed countries, from primate cities to complete metropolitan regions caused by economic changes and migration (Geyer & Kontuly 1993; Geyer 2002; Pacione 2009).

Figure 2.2 provides an image of what this development looks like. The concept of an urbanisation cycle defines four phases of urbanisation, in which suburbanisation and counter-urbanisation are two **decentralised** urban processes. Urbanisation and re-urbanisation are two **centralised** processes.



Source: Adapted from Soja (1989: 174)

Figure 2.2 The urbanisation cycle

In short, the cycle starts with urbanisation, known as the primate city phase, during which the city grew tremendously by a massive in-migration from rural areas in the industrial revolution. In a later stage, because of the in-migration, the primate city expands and suburbs take shape on the edges of the city centre. The next phase is suburbanisation, in which the primate city expands further and causes congestion problems and economic inefficiencies become visible. Therefore, surrounding, intermediate-size cities develop. Together, these cities and the primate city become a metropolitan region, in which the suburban cities grow faster than the primate city and in which suburban cities start to have their own suburbs. Third, decentralisation carries on and this is the phase of counter-urbanisation. This stage is categorised as total decentralisation, in which people and jobs move towards smaller villages and cities surrounding the metropolitan area. Fourth, the last stage is re-urbanisation, which is a new urban trend to move to the CBD, although this is not fully supported by empirical evidence. The process of decentralisation still seems strong in urban development. However, in Western Europe there are cases in which re-urbanisation has become visible, such as in Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (UK) (Champion 2001). The last stage explains the relative growth of the CBD compared to the city suburbs.

The urbanisation cycle is based on North American cities, but research shows that the urbanisation cycle has commonalities across the world, as is seen, for example, in the process of metropolitan development confirmed in Europe, Brazil and Botswana (Pacione 2009). Kontuly and Geyer (2003) show that more developing countries follow the cycle. For example,

British suburbanisation started from 1901 to 1921 and counter-urbanisation took place from 1931 to 1951 (Champion 2003). In South Africa, on the other hand, the overall migration movements show urbanisation from 1951 to 1980 and suburbanisation from 1980 to 1991 (Kotuly & Geyer 2003).

What does this mean for the definition of decentralisation? First, according to various authors, decentralisation is an urban process of low-density development patterns and describes the further distance of urban development from the CBD. Suburbanisation is explained as the growth on the city edge at the cost of the urban centre, and counter-urbanisation as the overall city decline to the growth of small cities (Geyer 2002; Pacione 2009). The difference in counter-urbanisation lies in its scale: Counter-urbanisation explains the overall decline of the city towards smaller cities outside the metropolitan area, and suburbanisation the decline of the CBD towards the city's edge within the metropolitan area.

## **2.2 Decentralisation: Where did it occur?**

It is important to consider that decentralisation in general and urban sprawl is not always common in all cities around the world and is expressed differently in different cities and countries. The previous sections have clarified the definitions of urban sprawl and decentralisation and their relation to each other. This section further briefly elucidates the occurrence and causes of decentralisation from a global view.

In general, urban sprawl refers to negative urban development, such as leapfrogging development, which is different from decentralisation. Decentralisation, as has mentioned, refers only to the low-density development on the edge of a city. Decentralisation, for example, is visible in residences and jobs, which relocate to the city edges, outside the CBD. The issue of sprawl and low-density development and its negative or positive features is widely and excessively discussed in the literature, and among the features are traffic congestion, criminality, and environmental and economic costs (Ewing 1997; Chin 2002; Gordon & Richardson 2012). This thesis will not discuss the debate on dense growth, but will refer to the presence and causes of urban decentralisation and the link with retail decentralisation.

Decentralisation has become visible around the world and has spread differently in different countries with their different contexts. Suburbanisation is a global phenomenon in developed countries (Gordon & Richardson 2012; Badcock 2002; Patacchini & Zenou 2009). The growth of suburbs around the world is expressed in Table 2.1, which shows the population trends since the 1950s/1960s. The USA is the textbook example of developed countries in which decentralisation and the development of the automobile have had an enormous impact on cities' suburbanisation. Europe, on the other hand, has experienced less economic and population

growth because of the considerable damage during World War II. Decentralisation in Europe has also been more controlled by its national planning systems (Badcock 2002; Patacchini & Zenou 2009). Nevertheless, recent distribution patterns of population growth in Europe show that decentralisation of the population has occurred in most urban areas since the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the last decades (Reckien & Karecha 2007). It reflects the enormous transition to suburban areas in developed countries around the world.

Table 2.1 Percentage change of city core and suburbs in developed countries

Nation	Since	Areas	Core cities	Suburbs	Classification
United States	1950	52	8.40%	91.60%	Metropolitan regions over 1 000 000
Canada	1951	4	5.30%	94.70%	Metropolitan areas over 1 000 000
Western Europe	1965	42	-13.00%	113.00%	Metropolitan areas over 1 000 000
Japan	1965	8	7.60%	92.40%	Metropolitan areas over 1 000 000
Australia & New Zealand	1965	6	7.20%	92.80%	Metropolitan areas over 1 000 000
Hong Kong	1965	1	55.50%	44.50%	Metropolitan area
Israel	1965	1	-1.60%	101.60%	Metropolitan area over 1 000 000
Total		114	5.60%	94.40%	

Sources: Demographia (2005); Gordon and Richardson (2012: 112)

Table 2.1 has categorised the data relating to metropolitan areas in the mentioned developed countries. Metropolitan regions expand around the world and confirm urbanisation cycle theory. This urban process shows as an overall expansion of different CBDs, or polycentric development.

Whereas suburbanisation initially was a main force of decentralisation, counter-urbanisation has become more intense in Western countries. The first signals of counter-urbanisation were in the USA and the UK from the 1960s, and later in other developed countries such as Germany, Australia and Canada (Gans & Kemper 2002; Pacione 2009; Jain et al. 2013: 249). Some places have experienced counter-urbanisation at a later stage or not at all. In Europe, for example, Champion (2001) shows that Northern Europe started earlier with counter-urbanisation than Southern Europe. Japan even skipped counter-urbanisation and went from suburbanisation to re-urbanisation because of the shortage of land and the cold weather, which reduced the expansion of industries outside the metropolitan area (Matsumoto 2009; Jain et al. 2013).

Suburbanisation and the growth of metropolitan areas also are becoming apparent in developing countries, for example in Brazil and Mexico (Champion & Hugo 2004). Cities in developing countries, such as Johannesburg, Cairo and Mexico City, are expanding through less-density development (UN-Habitat 2010). However, in addition to decentralisation, African

cities grow tremendously and show centralised migration patterns instead of decentralised movements (United Nations, DESA 2012). Whereas decentralisation seems visible in developed countries, the movement of in-migration from agricultural areas is still very strong, which stimulates the growth of the city, its CBDs and suburbs. Cities in India also grow massively and new suburbs have been formed in several cities as a result of a mass in-migration (Mukherji 2002). Signs of counter-urbanisation in developed countries are hard to find. Counter-urbanisation occurs roughly under a good transport network, decentralised employment, a service economy instead of a production economy, and a greater growth of employment than population. Most of these important features for further decentralisation are not available in low-developing countries. India, for example, does not experience counter-urbanisation because of an insufficient infrastructure and lack of government capacity (Jain et al. 2013), and Africa urbanises faster than the rate of employment growth (Pieterse 2011).

In Africa, the main migration movements are from rural to urban, which does not imply suburbanisation. This is exactly the case in Sub-Saharan African countries, which still experience rapid urbanisation instead of suburbanisation, as most of the cities are still at the beginning of the urbanisation cycle (Pieterse 2011). However, it must be said that suburbanisation is visible in some developing countries; for example in the capital region of New Delhi in India (Jain et al. 2013) and in economic decentralisation in Botswana (Gwebu 2006), as well as in big capitals, among others Accra in Ghana, Lagos in Nigeria, Luanda in Angola (Mabin, Butcher & Block 2013), and in Johannesburg in South Africa (Beavon 2004).

### **2.3 Consumer preferences and living traditions**

In the last 60 years, decentralisation has been an important factor in the cities of today. Cities are more decentralised and spread out on bigger land areas than ever. The context in which decentralisation occurs is formed by different themes. The most important theme for this thesis is consumer preferences and living traditions. Other, related, themes that are derived from the literature and that have an impact on to what extent decentralisation occurs, are (1) economic growth, (2) transportation, and (3) planning systems.

For example, the first theme is economic growth and the rise of the post-modern economy, which has caused that companies tend to prefer decentralised locations (Lever 2001; Badcock 2002; Pacione 2009). Second, the rise of the automobile in the last century allowed people to live in more remote locations, as is observable in developed countries as well as some developing countries, such as Tanzania (Briggs & Mwamfupe 2000) and Botswana (Gwebu 2006). Third, planning systems in Europe tried to restrain urban sprawl with some success, whereas no real awareness of this was present in the USA, but rather a favour of sprawl as a



result of market and consumer preferences (Richardson & Bae 2004; Couch, Leontidou & Arnstberg 2007). Lastly, the car has made it possible for people to choose different working and living locations, which brings us to the consumer preferences and living traditions that play a crucial role in whether people tend to work and live in the CBD or in the suburbs of a city.

It is important to notice that income growth is strongly connected to the preferences of consumers, simply because household income gives rise to the availability of preferences. Consumer preferences in relation to housing and environment refer to the preferred living circumstances of consumers, which could be in the city centre or outside the city centre. In short, these different places have their push and pull factors to decide whether someone would like to live in the CBD, in the suburbs or in the countryside.

Whereas city centres are preferred because of their high facility level, for example, they also are less preferred because of a higher crime rate. Suburbs, on the other hand, are preferred because of their space, green spaces, detached houses and the proximity of the city centre (Chin 2002). This point of view explains decentralisation as a market result in which consumers rather would like to live in more spacious, green living environments (Ewing 1997; Richardson & Gordon 2004).

The origin of suburban life being preferred started in the industrial revolution, when cities became more inhabitable to live in and the middle and upper classes started to prefer a bigger house in a green area (Couch, Leontidou & Arnstberg 2007). The wish to live in a more spatial, green environment has been an important trigger for families to live on the edges of cities (Glaeser 2011), and more people have been able to effort an own house. Besides the role of the consumer and his/her economic importance, the US government encouraged suburbanisation by policies and a low federal mortgage interest rate after World War II, which is one of the causes of the country's sprawl since then (Chin 2002; Burchell et al. 2005). In Europe, consumer preferences were an important indicator of decentralisation. It is clear that once people had enough income strength, they tended to live further away from the city core (Paracchini & Zenou 2009).

Consumer preferences are linked to living traditions and these naturally differ around the world. Different popular lifestyles make people decide how to live: For example, the classic popular concept of the garden city from the UK, as a rural-urban idyll, supported the trend to live outside the CBD. On the other hand, the preference for a city lifestyle in France in an 'urban apartment' and concepts of the modern city from Haussmann in Paris supported the city lifestyle in the CBD (Couch, Leontidou & Arnstberg 2007). Decentralisation started later in France than in the UK and USA (Sallez & Burgi 2004). In Southern Europe, decentralisation



has been also affected by urban cultures. Here, the positive attitude towards urban life was stimulated by rural poverty and strong urban employment, which made the city a beacon of a higher quality of life (Leontidou et al. 2007). One exception, of a developed country without a robust planning system, is Japan. This country has high density in its urban forms compared to its developed counterparts such as the USA and Europe. Considering the urbanisation cycle, Japan has experienced suburbanisation, skipped counter-urbanisation and now experiences re-urbanisation, in which the city centre is the more preferred living location (Matsumoto 2009). The first reason for this different urban development is the old Japanese tax rate according to the amount of street frontage (Grant 2000), which stimulated the narrow houses, similar to the narrow houses in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Secondly, Japanese living traditions favour a higher density through a multi-use room as living room and kitchen: “because many people sleep on futons stored in cupboards during the day, other rooms need not be designated for a limited range of purposes, but can be flexible in use” (Grant 2000: 24).

In the developing countries, living traditions also are very important in the formation and pattern of cities. The precolonial settlements in Ghana, for example, provide the city’s indigenous traditional features (Otiso & Owusu 2008). Important to consider is that most of the rural-to-urban migrants in Africa were keeping their traditions alive by often travelling from and to the city (Hahn & Kastner 2012). For the low class, traditional living traditions were based mainly on agriculture. Urbanisation for agricultural ethnic cultures commenced in Africa at the start of macro-economic growth and the global change from a production economy towards a service economy (Multinational Monitor 2003; Myers 2011). However, decentralisation as suburbanisation is visible in some circumstances. One of them is the growth of single-family housing, but the main decentralised feature in Africa is the suburban lifestyle for middle and higher income classes through their consumer preferences. This lifestyle started in the colonial suburbanisation within segregated suburbs (Mabin, Butcher & Block 2013).

Consumer preferences, as mentioned earlier, generally refer to people with income, who are also referred to as ‘consumers’. It is self-evident that high-income classes have other consumer preferences than low-income classes. The present income inequality stimulates segregation and polarisation, and this becomes apparent in the separation of neighbourhoods and the rise of gated suburban communities. New wealthy urban places have been built on the edges of African cities as gated communities, and are supported more due to rising crime (Rodrigues 2009; Mabin, Butcher & Block 2013). However, it must be said that segregation is also visible in the USA, Mexico, Brazil and South Africa, especially in countries with high income inequality (Rodrigues 2009). Equal cities are, for example, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and

Jakarta in Indonesia due to a very high percentage of low-income population (UN-Habitat 2010).

Living traditions and consumer preferences in developing countries show that middle- and high-income groups decentralise and live in segregated neighbourhoods outside the city centre. Low-income groups, traditionally from rural areas, tend to live close to or in the city centre. Not to be forgotten is the main urbanisation process, where rural-to-urban migration is still present in developing countries.

One important part of suburban life, whether segregated or not, is shopping. Retail and the way that goods are presented to the consumer differ just as living traditions differ. Decentralised retail and the emerging shopping malls have become a new and important part of the urban pattern and urban life, or in better words, suburban life. The connection between urban decentralisation and its causes are highly interlinked with retail decentralisation, in which the origins and causes of both are similar. The next section explains this connection between retail and urban decentralisation and elaborates further on retail patterns and interlinked shopping mall development, and their impact on cities.

## **2.4 Retail decentralisation**

The urbanisation cycle showed that suburbanisation and counter-urbanisation are the decentralised stages, which after all explain retail decentralisation. This section describes the link between urban and retail decentralisation, which shows a clear relationship between the decentralisation of retail and the decentralisation of jobs and residences.

Shopping malls are a distinctive example of decentralised retail that arises from the changing demands of consumers along with more car use. This section also discusses these different concepts, as follows: First, the definition of retail is explained as an important urban activity. Second, retail decentralisation is a part of and caused by general urban decentralisation. Third, causes of retail decentralisation are analysed from a global perspective, and as a result of the rise and the role of the shopping mall.

### **2.4.1 What is retail?**

Before this section gets into the detail of the connection between retail decentralisation and urban decentralisation, it is first important to answer the following question: What is retail? What exactly does retail mean when we talk about retail decentralisation? In the literature, retail is related to services and shopping centres and has a lot to do with the verb ‘shopping’, and takes place at “home, market places, stores, shopping streets and malls” (Pacione 2009: 241). The main activity of retailers is selling products produced by other companies, and having

a direct interaction with the customer to strengthen the relationship by enhancing the customer experience (Sorescu et al. 2011).

The meaning of the verb “shopping” as finding a product that meets your need is actually a limited definition. Crewe (2003) explains that the activity of shopping is actually typically human, as it is full of emotions, senses, imagination and experiences. From here, to enhance shopping, the qualities of the space within which it takes place are “thermal, acoustic, luminary, and olfactory” features (Crewe 2003: 355).

Another word that is used is “retailing”, which refers to the activities associated with selling goods. Retailing and trade have been there since the first cities arose. Retail has comprised prominent structures throughout time and in their location and architecture, from the time of the first trade to the present American Walmart (Crewe 2000; 2003). The broad definition of retail explains that retail activities are in the streets, cafes and malls, and on the internet (Karrholm 2012). Literature on retail geography provides a clear image of present retail locations: First, well-known locations are the department store, the mall and the public street. Second, more recently are studies on inconspicuous consumer spaces, where second-hand shops, “car-boot sales, charity shops and retro-vintage” (Crewe 2000: 278) form part of retail as well. Last, a recent new development is the possibility for home sales through internet platforms that expands the boundary of retailing to private domestic consumer spaces (Crewe 2000). These spaces enhance the relationship between the consumer and retailer, including the computer at home.

Although there are many new developments in the retail sector, such as home sale and the internet, this thesis focuses, just as Karrholm’s (2012) approach, on the urban and public spaces only, such as the mall, department store and shopping street. These public locations have always been important for the retail sector, which “consumes space and requires accessibility” (Rotem-Mindali 2012: 293). Retail in public space and its form has changed in history from the early middle ages until now (Domosh 1998). For example, retail was organised within small, traditional family-based stores in the streets of Europe in the 1950s and has lost its value to attract more consumers in recent decades (Fernandes & Chamusca 2014).

Besides the residences, offices and other economic activities, retail started to relocate to decentralised locations, also referred to as retail decentralisation, which refers to the interconnectedness between retail and other urban activities.

## **2.4.2 Retail decentralisation and urban decentralisation**

What is the relationship between retail and urban decentralisation? Bromley and Thomas (1993a: 2) say it very clearly: “The contemporary city is to a substantial degree articulated in

relation to retail facilities, and this has important consequences for the nature of city growth.” The post-industrial economy has had its impact on retail decentralisation. Post-industrial cities changed the preferred business location from the CBD to decentralised locations for a more flexible, efficient and complex activity to avoid traffic congestion (Lever 2001). Along with job decentralisation, the preference for suburban life and a strong growth in car use changed retail completely. The link between retail decentralisation and urban decentralisation is evident and is confirmed by Fernandes and Chamusca (2014). They say that an understanding of suburbanisation, consumer and retailer attitudes and urban decentralisation are important “to understand what is happening with retail structures and urban areas of retail concentration as well as the way they succeed (or not) in being resilient ...” (Fernandes & Chamusca 2014: 176).

The retail sector became decentralised and developed big shopping centres to fulfil the new shopping demand in new locations outside the CBD (Bromley & Thomas 1993a). Early research done by Hinderman (1960) noticed emerging shopping centres in the outlying areas of Cincinnati in the USA in the 1950s. The retail decentralisation that occurred has expanded through large-scale retail, also referred to as shopping centres or malls, which represent a large supply of different shops under one rooftop. Shopping malls have become a dominant feature in the urban landscape of developed countries.

### **2.4.3 Causes of retail decentralisation: From traditional store to shopping mall**

While the strong correlation between retail and urban decentralisation is clear, what is often discussed is the rhythm in terms of which this occurs. There is still no consensus on the simple question about what happened first – resident decentralisation or job decentralisation or retail decentralisation? One important element of the topic is whether people follow jobs or jobs follow people, also referred to as the population-employment relation (Hoogstra, Van Dijk & Florax 2011). In general, the literature explains that research outcomes depend on employment and spatial characteristics that are determined for the outcomes of research (White 1999; Hoogstra, Van Dijk & Florax 2011). However, in respect of retail decentralisation, the literature explains that shopping centres started to develop once new suburbs arose outside the traditional city. In other words, the retail sector followed the people, where new suburban communities attracted new retail centres to serve the suburban customers (Guy 1998; Stanilov 2004).

Decentralisation of retail is first derived from general urban decentralisation, and secondly from changes in retail organisation. As mentioned earlier, retail has changed tremendously, from the traditional specialised store to department stores, to the shopping mall and eventually to shopping spaces or shopping villages with a full spectrum of stores, entertainment,

restaurants and retail services. This retail development can also be called total shopping, in which shopping spaces have gathered the full offer of consumer needs in one location that replaces traditional urban spaces.

Besides the rise in total shopping, Pacione (2009) provides an overview of the causes of retail decentralisation (shown in Table 2.2), divided into causes from the demand side and supply side of retail.

Table 2.2 Demand and supply sides of retail and decentralisation

Demand side	Supply side
Residential decentralisation	Fewer retail establishments
Changing consumer attitudes and expectations	New technology; barcode technology
Growth in female employment	
Changing levels of purchasing power	
Increased mobility: The growing use of the automobile	

Source: Pacione (2009: 246-247)

The reasons for retail decentralisation in the demand side, among others, are increased mobility because of the automobile, changing consumer attitudes and the growth of female employment. Consumer attitudes and preferences have changed retail into a more convenient, climate-controlled shopping centre for the car-borne consumer (Wrigley & Lowe 2002; Pacione 2009). Firstly, the growth in female employment and female full-time workers has introduced the concept of “bulk-buying, especially of food, and a reduction in the frequency of shopping trips” (Pacione 2009: 246). Secondly, full-time housewives and commuters appreciate the shopping mall for its various offerings. Thirdly, an important trigger of the expanding retail sector has been the rising income growth of consumers that has contributed to household income, among others because of an increasing number of women participating in the labour market. Lastly, there is a general growing demand “for greater diversity among products, accompanied by lower prices” (Rotem-Mindali 2012: 293).

Car-borne consumers and increased mobility are, in the first place, an important factor of decentralisation in general, but also of retail decentralisation and the rise of the shopping mall. The car has become so important for consumers and their shopping activity that policies deterring car usage can have a negative impact on retail, with reference specifically to shopping centres in the USA (Reimers 2013).

From the supply side there are new technologies, such as bar coding, electric checkouts and stock control – important changes that have made it possible to organise the consumer’s demand for diversity of products, high demand and bulk-buying. To organise the new

consumer's demands, retail spaces have changed to department stores and shopping malls, which have created concentrations of retail hubs with a collection of supermarkets, retail services and various stores. The first malls were built in the USA as a collection of different stores and supermarkets, which were enclosed and located next to a highway. In addition to consumer demand, the emergence of the car and residential suburbs, in combination with cheap land and the infrastructure of highways, has made it possible to build many new shopping malls outside the traditional city and CBD. The shopping mall, as a place that has convenient car access, on-site parking, is air-conditioned, sanitised and "protected from the uncertainties and perils of urban life", became a success in the USA (Stanilov 2004: 182). The period between 1960 and 1980 is also referred as the 'mall of America', in which time almost 30 000 malls were constructed (Wrigley & Lowe 2002; Pacione 2009). The American retailing model arrived in Europe later, with the first shopping mall being built in Frankfurt, Germany in 1965, followed by many more (Logemann 2012). It was firstly mainly food retail that decentralised, but this expanded to consumer goods "such as furniture, and soon even for clothes, accessories, shoes, sports equipment, and so on, in what came to be the building type of the 1990s; the category killer" (Karrholm 2012).

The tremendous growth of shopping malls has changed urban life and the sense and use of space that is explained from an urban sociological perspective. First, the mall as shopping location means a totally different experience and use of public space. The mall is an enclosed, privatised space instead of a public space, separated from the urban public space. The mall mostly is only accessible by car, with limited pedestrian access (Wrigley & Lowe 2002), and it became an important part of urban, or rather suburban, life or for the so-called middle-class suburbanites (Stanilov 2004: 182).

The growth of shopping malls became visible around the world in developed and developing countries, and shows similarities in its dependency on car-borne consumers. This process of tremendous growth of shopping malls, along with a changing consumer demand and economic growth, shows its positive implications for consumers, especially car-borne consumers.

However, the present retail organisation of suburban decentralised malls has shown negative implications in the world on CBD retail and disadvantaged consumers. These implications are discussed in sections 2.5 and 2.6 respectively.

## **2.5 CBD retail**

Next to the advantages of shopping malls through their accessibility and variety of products, there also are important implications that have been present throughout the world because of the rise of urban decentralisation and decentralised shopping mall development. In particular,

the threat that CBD retail deteriorates is often mentioned. In this section, the latter is discussed from a global perspective, along with the social importance of the CBD. Lastly, CBD retail and its chances of resilience are discussed.

### **2.5.1 Retail decline in the central business district**

An important question that arises is whether the shopping street is dying. The street forms the traditional location of shops and retail in CBDs all over the world. One of the countries that has really stressed the problem of the so-called ‘death of the high street’ is the UK (Portas 2011). Bromley and Thomas (1993a) explain that emerging shopping centres in the UK weakened the traditional retail locations, especially near small traditional centres. The effect that retail decentralisation can have depends on scale, planning system and location (Bromley & Thomas 1993a). Pacione (2009) also concludes that CBD retail has experienced much more competition from the new shopping areas outside of the CBD. Guy (1998) has listed several important social and economic implications of retail decentralisation. Social implications of retail decentralisation are equity and efficiency. Equity has to do with the retail convenience level of goods and services for all the different groups, and it is especially the facility level of low-income groups is endangered. Efficiency refers to the new way of shopping by consumers, of which the shopping centre has become an important part. An economic implication is the emerging competition between stores in the CBD and the shopping malls, which causes the closure of stores in the CBD (Guy 1998).

Besides the tremendous emergence of shopping malls in the developed world, shopping malls have also arisen in developing countries, such as Brazil, Turkey, India and South Africa. Various authors describe the emergence of the mall in Africa and its subverting effect on the traditional social relationships (Miller 2005; Houssay-Holzschuch & Teppo 2009; Mabin, Butcher & Block 2013). Shopping malls have emerged in at least 14 countries on the African continent in the last 20 years (Miller 2005), and have become more common in African urban areas (Myers 2011). A striking quote from Miller (2005: 118) explains the contrasts of shopping malls in South Africa:

These South African retailers have built new fuel stations, fast food outlets, furniture stores, video shops, clothing and general merchandise stores and supermarkets in shopping centres that sport key South African retail brand names such as Woolworths, Truworths, Shoprite, Debonairs, Hungry Lion, Engen, Kwikserve, ProFurn and Game. In the uneven African cityscape, these bright, modern outlets are part of a new urban development



– in contrast to the old central business districts, which are decaying. Like a flower in the desert, the shopping mall in Africa brings a new march of ‘modernity’, as promised by President Thabo Mbeki’s ‘African Renaissance’.

From India there also is criticism of shopping mall development and its negative effects. Kalhan (2007) researched the impacts of mall development on small shops; comparable research was done by Ligthelm (2008) in South Africa. Their main conclusions underline the threat of closures of small shops and the end of their profitability.

Besides the effects on small retailers and urban spaces in the developing world, the developed world shows the results of continuous decentralisation and the decline in CBD retail. In CBDs in the USA, where shopping mall development started in the 1950s and 1960s, there has been a decline in retail (Friedman 1973; Wassmer 2002; Wrigley & Lowe 2002). In the UK, there is no question that new, off-centre developments cause the closure of small retailers or the cancellation of planned central retail development (Guy 1998). Less than half of the UK’s retail spending is in the shopping street, and prospective figures to 2014 showed a falling trend (Portas 2011). In Australia, the CBD is a much higher price option in which to invest and does not rationalise the low return (McGreal & Kupke 2014).

Besides the effect on the retail sector in cities, there also are social effects of continuous shopping mall development, namely the decline of use of the city centre and the CBD as an important place of urban life.

### **2.5.2 Social implications and the central business district**

First, as discussed earlier, the retail sector is a main part of the urban space and important for economic vitality as the most important economic activity in the inner city (Rotem-Mindali 2012). However, the emergence of shopping malls on the edges of cities has not only affected retail in the CBD, but also the social role of public space (Gehl 2011; Erkip, Omur & Akinci 2014). It cannot be denied that retail has a very important role in the traditional public urban space, in relation to which shopping mall development on the edges of cities forms a new danger to the traditional retail structure in the CBD and the use of public space for its liveability, safety and consumption and leisure activities (Jacobs 1961; Gehl 2011; Erkip, Omur & Akinci 2014). One example of the social role of city life and the liveability of small retailers is from an old classic by Jane Jacobs (1961) on ‘the life and death of great American cities’:

Storekeepers and other small businessmen are typically strong proponents of peace and order themselves; they hate broken windows and holdups; they



hate having customers made nervous about safety. They are great street watchers and sidewalk guardians if present in sufficient numbers (Jacobs 1961: 37).

A broader concept of urban liveability is the ‘quality of life’ of residents in the city, which refers to importance of urban space for the well-being of the residents (Lloyd & Aud 2003). The emergence of the mall and the decline of the centre’s retail entail a different use of space because of the transition from public space to private space. In addition, it should not be forgotten that “retail is, and probably always has been, an important and often integrating and generating aspect of urban life” (Karrholm 2012: 133). Retail organised in shopping malls is in homogenised, controlled, gated spaces that rather complement than replace the liveability of shopping streets because of its mix of uses, which means that it attracts various groups of people in different places and times than in the CBD.

Retail in the CBD is an important part of the urban life and city community of the CBD. In combination with different facilities, such as parks, squares, museums, restaurants and pubs, it fulfils an important social role that enhances city life, in other words the quality of life – a place to meet friends, and to begin conversations. Even though shopping malls are rather built for shopping, they provide a space of high quality that is used for different activities, especially social activities such as “children at play, greetings and conversations, communal activities of various kinds and lastly, as the most widespread social activity, passive contacts, that is simply seeing and hearing other people” (Gehl 2011: 12). In this sense, variety, density, pedestrian spaces and the mixed use of city streets are the key to an interesting city and a better quality of life (Jacobs 1961; Gehl 2011).

The social importance of central retail indicates to an even greater extent the potential consequences should the central retail sector decline. From analysing the literature it is clear that the decline of stores in the centre will decrease the liveability, safety and social capital of the city centre. In fact, the decline of the city centre has become visible throughout the developed world. Examples are found especially in the USA and Europe. That the CBD is an important place to have retail activity has become clear throughout the huge amount of retail revitalisation in the CBDs in the USA, Europe and Australia. The research done on this has focused on the revitalisation of retail in the CBD and shows the immense planning policies to enhance the city centre for retail development (Weisbrod & Pollakowski 1984; Guy 1998; Hoogendoorn et al. 2008; Goodman & Coiacetto 2012).

Whereas the social importance of stores is not denied by various authors, but rather emphasised (Jacobs 1961; Baker & Wood 2009; Gehl 2011; Portas 2011; Karrholm 2012),

empirical evidence of increasing crime and decreasing liveability is hard to find. However, this does not mean that the CBDs in the USA and the UK have survived the tremendous retail decentralisation of the last 50 years. Quite the contrary, various authors emphasise the decline of the retail sector in the city centre (Bromley & Thomas 1993a; Guy 1998; Miller 2005; Pacione 2009; Portas 2011; Rotem-Mindali 2012).

The decline of the CBD through shopping mall development is evident. Retail has relocated outside the CBD and the emerging competition between the CBD and the surrounding retail centres is likely going to be won by the shopping malls, as is visible throughout the world (Guy 1998; Ligthelm 2008; Portas 2011; Erkip, Omur & Akinci 2014). This decline of retail activity has a negative effect and is widely recognised. However, the social effect on the CBD through retail decline is discussed less.

### **2.5.3 Resilience of retail in the central business district**

Despite the negative impacts that have been noticed around the world, there are signs of the resilience of the retail sector in the CBD, which has adapted to the new circumstances of the massive increase in shopping malls. Pacione (2009) points out that the resilience could be visible in the economic vitality of the CBD. For example, many city centres have the advantage of specialist shopping, offices, government buildings, cultural facilities and tourist attractions, in relation to which the CBD in the USA has experienced “at least partial revival” (Pacione 2009: 252).

It is important to take note that resilience occurs differently around the world and is dependent on policies, plans, laws, regulations and public authorities, all of which play a crucial role in the retail structure of cities. However, deregulation processes create more space for neoliberal principles, which open the retail market for competition (Fernandes & Chamusca 2014: 176). In short, resilience in the CBD can be explained in two ways: from a policy perspective or from a neoliberal perspective. The policy perspective stimulates regulations and plans to hold on to the CBD and protect the retail stores, while the neoliberal perspective has a competitive character that allows competition with the shopping malls to help the uniqueness and attraction of the CBD to prevail.

The outcomes of CBD resilience differ and the resilience can be explained in different ways. In the UK, for example, the city centres are more resilient against neoliberal principles by protecting the CBD, including a reluctant attitude towards new shopping malls through regulation and planning. The resilience is a product of policies, laws and regulations. However, despite all these efforts, neoliberalism is winning in the retail sector, as more and more

shopping malls are entering the retail market and are likely to win the competition against the CBD (Pacione 2009; Portas 2011).

Another example is from European research and explains that resilience does not have to be accomplished by policies and regulations, but by the unique characteristics of the CBD and the country's cultural traditions. In Turkey, for example, the CBD stays strong because of increasing consumption and cultural connections, and in France, tourism and attractive historical centre are resilient characteristics (Fernandes & Chamusca 2014).

The reasons why the CBD remains attractive to consumers has been discussed in some research. Ozuduru, Varol and Ercoskun Yalsiner (2014: 155) researched preferences in Ankara, Turkey and concluded that the CBD remains attractive because of the unique location, "distinctive consumer and specific retailer characteristics". The reasons that make the CBD attractive for consumers are the possibilities to stroll in open space and do window shopping, to explore open urban places and the convenient prices.

This substantiates the findings of Crewe (2000; 2003), in which she explains that consumers not only go to the place where they can find the products they want, as typical rational consumer behaviour, but consumers also display the typically human social behaviour of shopping, explained as a sensory experiencing, in which the location and its "thermal, acoustic, luminary and olfactory qualities" (Crewe 2003: 355), are very important as well. Retail such as fashion designers using new street styles in London are an example of retail resilience in the CBD (Crewe 2000).

Besides the emphasis on image and identity, an important physical resilience effect for the shopping street is the use of public transportation, connections for pedestrian traffic, parking facilities, architecture and safe streets (Cachinho 2014; Erkip, Omur & Akinci 2014; Ozuduru, Varol & Ercoskun Yalsiner 2014).

Resilience is possible in many different ways, through new retailing of identity and imaging as well as from policies, planning regulations, city centre revitalisation plans or CBD upliftment, especially to make the retail sector more resilient against the upcoming shopping malls. Resilience plans to strengthen the retail shopping streets, points out that public transportation, green areas, a pedestrian-friendly environment that is well-designed and offers safety and parking facilities are the important concepts that decide if a retail shopping street will be less resilient or more resilient in its battle against the increase in shopping malls.

## **2.6 The disadvantaged consumer**

Besides the threat of retail being abandoned in the CBD and the subsequent social consequences for the CBD's social role in relation to the city community, another issue of

shopping mall development is the rising inequality of shopping facilities for disadvantaged consumers. The main question to be answered in this section is whether shopping malls are equally accessible by everyone, specifically the disadvantaged consumer.

Retail studies have been done in several countries on these issues and in which the equity aspect has been researched. Rotem-Mindali (2012) concluded in his research on retail fragmentation in Israel that low-mobility neighbourhoods on the periphery are the most vulnerable and are likely to have less access to retail facilities. An example in the USA describes a similar problem:

Whether justified or not sprawl is perceived as a negative urban form with costs including un-aesthetic development; poor access to services for those with limited mobility such as the young and the elderly; increased trip lengths, congestion and increase in fuel consumption (Chin 2002: 2).

These negative aspects refer to urban decentralisation in general, but do suggest a mobility problem that arises for people who live in the CBD and are dependent on the traditional stores (Bromley & Thomas 1993b; Guy 1998). The concepts of social exclusion, social fortresses of low mobility and low-income groups are still highly in debate (Voyce 2007). Because of the homogenised character of shopping malls, a shopping mall is mainly organised to maximise spending and to assemble crowds for shopping; this is not a sufficient base to sustain a community (Lewis 1990). Consumers rather visit the mall out of necessity rather than as a social activity.

When talking about exclusion and the mall as social fortress, the main groups that are likely to be excluded are people who are less mobile, mainly because of the car-dependent nature of shopping malls. Bromley and Thomas (1993b: 224) characterise the disadvantaged consumer as “unskilled manual employment, large young families, unemployment, absence of a car, old age, sickness and infirmity”. They tend to live in the downtown surrounding area, or on the edges of cities and prefer to visit the CBD (Bromley & Thomas 2002). The disadvantaged consumer, according to Bromley and Thomas (1993b), suffers from poor mobility and social disadvantage. The latter is explained by a wide range of causes of reducing purchasing power and physical disabilities:

Consumer disadvantage emerges from these two underlying dimensions because the consumer is likely to lack access to the widest choice and most advantageously priced goods; to lack the flexibility to adopt the preferred

frequency of shopping; and to suffer inconvenience when undertaking the shopping trip (Bromley & Thomas 1993b: 225).

The exclusion of disadvantages does have a geographical dimension, with the distance from retail facilities or other social facilities of retail increasing the exclusion (Williams & Hubbard 2001). The case research in Coventry, UK by Williams and Hubbard (2001) explains that the problems of retail disadvantage are not as clear as previous literature explains: Most of the perceived disadvantaged consumers do not experience the disadvantages and are actually happy with their current retail facilities. However, the polarisation is still visible in that many households considered as disadvantaged households avoid shopping places where advantaged consumers go shopping.

The disadvantaged consumer shops mainly in the CBD (Bromley & Thomas 2002). New food stores in the CBD, for example, could contribute to equitable food store facilities (Bromley & Thomas 2002). Signs of a low facility level for the disadvantaged consumer are visible, but may not be part of their experience, as Williams & Hubbard (2001) point out, although they may still experience spatially polarised quartering or spatial segregation, in which disadvantaged and advantaged shoppers mainly shop separately from each other.



## **CHAPTER 3: URBAN AND RETAIL DECENTRALISATION: SOUTH AFRICA**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Compared to the previous chapter, which outlines urban and retail decentralisation and the rise of the shopping mall in relation to retail in the CBD and the disadvantaged consumer, this chapter specifically elucidates the same themes in relation to South Africa. South Africa is one of the countries in the world undergoing considerable economic transition, such as Brazil, Turkey and Vietnam, and confirms most of the indicators of urban decentralisation. As discussed in the previous section on urban decentralisation, the main indicators are (1) a strong car dependency, (2) a postmodern or post-Fordist economy, (3) a preferred tradition of living in suburbia, and (4) no strong, robust planning system. South Africa is a unique case in the world with its apartheid history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which had important implications for spatial factors such as urbanisation and its development of urban areas. The unique context of racial inequality and segregation is still strongly visible in the South African urban landscape, although this is also visible, but differently, in the USA. Because of the apartheid policy, strong separateness of communities was organised and implemented. South Africa's uniqueness is visible in its density rates, which are one of the lowest compared to other developed and developing countries in the world (Turok 2010; Demographia 2014).

### **3.2 Decentralisation**

To provide an understanding of the rise of shopping malls in South Africa, the following sections discuss the urbanisation cycle in South Africa and the different themes that caused the decentralisation that formed the foundation of retail decentralisation. In demographic research, suburbanisation has been confirmed as urban differentiation and shows that South Africa confirms the theory of the cycle of urbanisation (Geyer & Van der Merwe 2002; Geyer 2003). The emergence of primate cities and their suburbs is clearly visible in South Africa, in which the suburbanisation phase started in the 1980s and lasted until 1991, as in Johannesburg (Crankshaw 2008). South African urban development in terms of the urban differentiation model is comparable with countries such as Turkey, Italy and India (Kontuly & Geyer 2003). The next stage is counter-urbanisation and so far has not been indicated in South Africa, according to Geyer (2003), because the metropolitan regions are still showing a small amount of growth. However, the growth of small towns has become apparent and refers to counter-urbanisation, or the growth of small towns outside the metropolitan area. One example of counter-urbanisation in South Africa is semigration. This is the move from the city to gated

communities in rural towns. Advertisements for a rural lifestyle support these developments (Donaldson 2012) as a new, preferred living tradition for the middle and higher classes. The area of urban extension and gated communities in the countryside has become apparent since the 1960. One example is in the Western Cape area around Cape Town (Halpern & Meadows 2013). However, in general, and especially in South Africa's metropolitan areas, population and employment are rather decentralised through a suburban force than through a counter-urban force (Geyer et al. 2012).

The causes of South Africa's decentralisation are discussed in terms of the same indicators as mentioned in the previous section on decentralisation around the world.

### **3.2.1 Economy**

South Africa's decentralisation is caused, firstly, by its changing economy. Urban economies such as Johannesburg and Cape Town show the emergence of the post-Fordist city and postmodern city, referring to Soja (1989) and Lever (2001), in the last decades. This is also referred to as deindustrialisation. This change demands new, well-educated service sector workers and causes more unemployment among the working class.

For South Africa, this has enhanced racial inequality, which has caused higher unemployment among the less-educated working class, mostly black people, and higher employment of well-educated workers in the service sector, mostly white people (Crankshaw 2008; 2012). In addition, the South African economy has changed from manufacturing toward services (Lever 2001; Crankshaw 2008; 2012).

Important reasons for this change are, firstly, the changing location preferences of the service and manufacturing sectors for the edges of the city and, secondly, the decline of manufactory companies in the CBD of Johannesburg, which aggravated racial inequality (Crankshaw 2008). The move to the suburbs triggered big investors to invest in the new suburban commercial area in a snowball effect that created oversupply (Goga 2003), and meant the end of the CBD as the important commercial centre of the city (Czegledy 2003).

Companies' location preferences changed to the edge city instead of the CBD, and the causes of this is widely discussed in the international literature in the debate on whether people follow jobs or jobs follow people (Bouston & Margo 2009). Goga (2003) explains the increasing car usage, residential suburbanisation and the effort to live closer to work as the main reasons for office decentralisation in Johannesburg. These explanations of urban change confirm that jobs follow people rather than people follow jobs. Geyer et al (2012: 2952) point out that, between 2000 and 2007, economic activities decentralised in South African metropolitan cities: "Decentralisation, driven by high land prices and congestion costs in inner-



city areas and the proximity of labour markets at the periphery all contribute to commercial decentralisation”. However, as Geyer et al. (2012) outline, multinationals and financial services still have the advantage of the agglomeration in the inner city.

In addition to the effects on great cities, the changing economy has also had an effect on small towns outside metropolitan areas. From a broad view, small cities are still declining in South Africa and metropolitan areas and intermediate cities have grown around their CBD (Geyer et al. 2012). Economic activities in South Africa’s countryside have depreciated, such as agriculture, former mining locations and railway towns (Nel & Rogerson 2007; Hoogendoorn & Nel 2012; Toerien & Marais 2012). New economic activities, with their changing transport nodes, characterise the post-modern age and urban decentralisation (Toerien & Marais 2012). New activities in local economic development, such as tourism, gated community development and second home development, are present in small cities (Donaldson & Marais 2012). However, these highlights of new economic activities are still an exception instead of a general appearance (Hoogendoorn & Nel 2012). Whereas urbanisation has occurred in small towns, decentralisation is visible in small and medium-sized cities close to the metropolitan areas, such as Stellenbosch and Plettenberg Bay (Van Rensburg & Campbell 2011; Musakwa 2013). Both towns have decentralised commercial activities through leapfrog development and a growing urban fringe. The expanding urban fringe is visible mainly in quartering and new developments of gated communities (Van Rensburg & Campbell 2011; Donaldson 2014).

### **3.2.2 Car dependency**

Urban decentralisation has become possible around the world, among others because of the wide use of the automobile. The second indicator of urban decentralisation therefore is car dependency.

Although sub-Saharan Africa has a low car dependency, South Africa is highly car-dependent (World Bank 2014). When South Africa is compared to developed countries its car dependency is relatively low: The number of South African passenger cars per 1 000 people was 111.9 in 2011 compared to 477.6 cars in the European Union (World Bank 2014). Car dependency does not seem to be the most important factor of decentralisation in South Africa. However, the difference between the high car dependency of the higher classes and the low car dependency of the lower class has formed a segregated landscape in South Africa of roads and gated communities. Mostly, high-income urban areas are well provided by industry and services compared to the low-class urban township areas. Townships planned according to racial groups in the 1950s were located far outside the city centre. Whereas normal

suburbanisation occurs as a result of high car dependency, these townships were physically cut off from the other urban areas (Freund 2007).

### **3.2.3 Segregation**

Car dependency is not the main factor behind decentralisation in South Africa. From an international perspective it could explain why some countries have a higher urban density based on their wide use of public transportation, such as Japan. In South Africa, inequality of income and segregation are the main reasons for decentralisation. In general, the white population has a high car dependency, which increases suburbanisation potential. Turok (2013: 177) explains the South African situation very well and emphasises the segregation in South Africa:

Middle- and high-income households generally live in low-density suburbs that are costly to service with public transport and bulk infrastructure, and heavily geared to car-based commuting. Major highway construction over the years has reinforced the separation of work, leisure and home-life. Elsewhere, the poor majority of households are largely confined to townships and informal settlements that are overcrowded and exposed to the spread of shack fires and communicable diseases.

This explains how urban areas are decentralised and fragmented through unequal car dependency and segregation. Another indicator is consumer preferences, which also confirm urban decentralisation. Donaldson (2012: 265-266) explains that small towns are advertised as places of “safety, peace and tranquillity, as a way to escape from the increasingly dangerous urban environment.” Gated communities are one of the main aspects of decentralisation in South Africa and have become important living neighbourhoods for the middle and high-income class. Johannesburg shows segregated patterns in which high-income groups, mainly whites, live in suburbs, and low-income groups, mainly blacks, live in “ghettos” (Crankshaw 2008). The city centre has become a place of crime and bad infrastructure, where people only go when they have to (Czegledy 2003). In addition, the main motive for decentralisation is explained as ‘environmentalism’, in which a better environment of quality schools, safe and green areas is the main motive for people with middle and high incomes to suburbanise (Geyer et al. 2012).

### **3.2.4 Planning system**

The final indicator of decentralisation is the country’s planning system, along with its land-use policies. Although planning uses mainly policy to restrain decentralisation in the world, looking at the Netherlands, for example, the planning policies in South Africa stimulated

decentralisation. Urban planning in South Africa did not restrain decentralisation and gated communities, but rather stimulated segregation during the apartheid period (Bollens 1998). Segregation in South African and its urban decentralisation characterised the start of apartheid planning, especially the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and the Group Act of 1950, which regulated the movement and settlement of non-white peoples to the periphery of cities (Future Cape Town 2013). The creation of homelands called ‘Bantustans’, influx control in South African cities and industrial decentralisation caused a delay in urbanisation in South African cities and caused inequality and poverty because of the misplaced state interventions (Hindson 1987). The development of townships enhanced suburbanisation; these were planned residential areas based on racial groups. Whereas normal suburbanisation occurs on the basis of car dependency and a changing economy, there was forced decentralised planning in South Africa that created separated townships that were at a distance from the city centre (Freund 2007).

After apartheid since 1994, little progress had been made in restraining segregation (NPC 2012; Turok 2013). Structural problems were the main reasons why policies were hard to implement. Examples are the increasing unemployment and poverty, and the lack of water supply and transportation, which made it difficult to change the apartheid landscape (NPC 2012; Turok 2013). However, the new planning system addressed the problem of fragmented cities, stimulating more density and making an attempt to “redress patterns of inequality in the past” (Todes 2012: 158). In Johannesburg and Cape Town there were new planning policies to reverse and restrain low-density development. The suburbanisation in Johannesburg in the 1990s was very hard to control; however, since 2009 new plans to restrain urban sprawl have led to a better system to combine infrastructural and spatial planning (Todes 2012). There were problems relating to the new planning approach; Turok (2010) refers to the lack of consistency of spatial programmes. In addition, new Cape Town plans for restraining decentralisation are tentative and give no assurance of an effective measurement (Turok 2010). Besides for Cape Town, planning tools also were visible in other cities, for example the urban fringe line to determine the boundary between urban land use and non-urban land use (Van Rensburg & Campbell 2011).

To summarise, there have been changes in, as well as new efforts to change, planning in South Africa and to turn the wheel towards a more sustainable, equal environment (Turok 2010; Berrisford 2011; Todes 2012); however, the legacy of apartheid planning seems hard to change. As Berrisford (2011) explains, the new laws and new regulations in the new planning system are hard to implement due to different interpretation possibilities of the South African

constitution, which shows, firstly, conflict between different levels of government – national, provincial and local – and, secondly, the high property rights of land, which make planning restrictions hard to implement.

### **3.2.5 Summary**

South Africa has noticeably decentralised, but does show some other features of how decentralisation occurred. First, there was a migration difference between the black population and the white population: Whereas the black population still experiences a major migration from rural to urban – mainly employment seekers, the white population lives in suburbs and decentralised places, which are easily accessible by car and characterised by high liveability. Secondly, territorial policies from the apartheid period have enhanced the decentralisation and segregation of the use of space. This means that black people were forced to live on the peripheries of cities. However, new planning policies have tried to address the problem of spatial inequality, segregation and low density, and to turn the wheel, but with little success. Lastly, on the basis of the deindustrialised economic structure, the consumer preferences of the white population, the segregation, the high car dependency, the legacy of apartheid planning and the present lack of efficient land-use planning, it can be concluded that South Africa is highly decentralised compared to other countries.

Therefore, the decentralised circumstances were perfect for the emerging decentralised retail sector and mall development. Decentralised, segregated cities with a high car dependency provided the perfect conditions for the retail sector to develop shopping malls on a decentralised scale, which attracted the car-borne consumer perfectly. The next section elaborates on the rise of shopping malls in South Africa.

## **3.3 Rise of shopping malls**

Now that it is clear what the main causes were of urban decentralisation in South Africa, this section discusses shopping mall development in South Africa and the relevant literature on the implications on CBD retail and the disadvantaged consumer. From a South African perspective, it is important to discuss, firstly, the extent to which retail has decentralised in South Africa and, secondly, the implications of the rise of shopping malls in South Africa on CBD retail and consumers.

### **3.3.1 Background**

South Africa has strongly decentralised in its urban patterns, and this has made it possible to develop shopping malls on a large scale throughout the country. The circumstances for the

development of shopping malls have been perfect. Urban decentralisation has occurred because of the deindustrialised economic structure, the developed consumer preferences of the white population, the segregation or quartering of ethnic groups, segregated high car dependency, the results of apartheid planning and, lastly, the lack of efficient land-use planning. All of these variables make it possible to have a 'free to go' in South Africa to develop new shopping malls on a massive scale (Kudelasz 1997).

The extent in which shopping malls have developed in South Africa could be mentioned as remarkable, but is no surprise when considering South Africa's urban pattern and infrastructure. Shopping malls demand a good automobile infrastructure and a lot of space for parking lots and stores. The strong decentralised nature and legacy of apartheid planning, in which neighbourhoods are decentralised and segregated, has created the space that decentralised shopping malls need to operate.

More and more shopping malls are expected to be developed in South Africa. It is clear from the numbers that South Africa is 'mallng' on a big scale, which is visible throughout the country's metropolitan areas and in its small cities. From 239 shopping malls in 2002 there were 1 443 shopping malls in 2010, of which 45% were built in Gauteng province (Gauteng Province 2012). Large malls that exceeds 30 000 m<sup>2</sup> in size have expanded to 180 shopping malls in 2016, which is double the size compared to 2008 (Muller 2013). Although the retail sector has suffered since the last economic crisis in 2009, it has recovered and has shown further growth (Gauteng Province 2012). The main causes of the increase are the established economic growth in the last number of years, which has increased retail sales and created capital for investment and new shopping malls (Gauteng Province 2012). In other words, the income growth and the growing middle class have increased the purchasing power of many South Africans, which has been a good impulse for the retail sector.

From an international perspective, the literature explains that the main problems of shopping malls become visible through their low access by the disadvantaged consumer and the threat of CBD abandonment from the retail sector. These issues also are visible in South Africa, although differently: Because of the highly segregated urban life and the inequality between the white and black populations, the shopping mall has become an example of the present segregated society. The shopping mall is a homogenised place that is built mostly for one single activity, namely shopping, and often is easily accessible by car. Because of these characteristics, the shopping mall attracts the car-borne consumer and therefore it is expected that, in a country such as South Africa, shopping malls would be used mainly by the middle and high-income groups.

### 3.3.2 Disadvantaged consumers

The advantaged consumer in South Africa is largely white and Indian or Asian. The latest statistics from Statistics South Africa (2014) on the poverty level among population groups are very clear about this. These numbers tell us that the black population has a poverty level of 54.0% compared to 27.6% for the coloured population, 3.4% for the Indian/Asian population, and lastly 0.8% for the white population of South Africa in 2011. It shows the highly racial inequality of income and the inevitable result that the shopping mall is used mainly by the white population.

Although there are many signs of high numbers of unlicensed drivers in South Africa, the numbers of people with driver's licenses confirm the racial differences, with 17.4% of the black population possessing a driver's license compare to 27.1% for the coloured and 88.0% for the white population in 2013 (Statistics South Africa 2013). These statistics imply that most of the black and coloured population can only visit the mall by driving illegally.

Although it is clear that racial inequality is strong in South Africa, the differences between the ethnic groups become steadily less. Tomlinson and Larsen (2003) looked at the growing use of shopping malls by the black population. Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) also point out the increasing number of visits to the Waterfront in the Cape Town CBD by black and coloured consumers. This is predominantly because their income has increased and the catchment areas of shopping malls could be reaching remote black neighbourhoods (Tomlinson & Larsen 2003). These conditions emphasise that, instead of race, economic class has become more important to define the disadvantaged consumer in South Africa.

In this day, the low-income groups still form a big proportion of the black and coloured population that mainly live in townships. South Africa is still strongly decentralised and shows a high level of segregation, with separate neighbourhoods for black and white people, which are a result of apartheid planning. Whereas normal suburbanisation occurs by car dependency and a changing economy, this was forced decentralised planning that created separated townships that are distant from the city centre (Freund 2007). As a result, the disadvantaged consumer also has a geographical disadvantage, as most of the low-income groups live in decentralised neighbourhoods far from shopping malls.

To derive a profile of the disadvantaged South African consumer, it can be said that the main features are having no car, having a low income, and living in a township, far from decentralised shopping malls. Whereas the separation of residents was based on skin colour in the apartheid period, this has changed to a separation by income group. However, this is still racially characterised considering the numbers (Statistics South Africa 2014).

The main idea is that the disadvantaged consumer has less access to shopping malls because of low car ownership, low income and the geographical distance from the shopping malls. The following quote, although termed simply, explains the high car use by the high-income class and the main separation between the income classes in South Africa:

The more wealthy part of the population generally relies solely on the private car, resulting in congestion, pollution, safety problems etc. There is also no fair allocation of road space. The rich consume a large amount of space with their cars (mostly single drivers) while the poor have to share overcrowded, unsafe and unreliable public transport facilities. (Vanderschuren & Galaria 2003: 275).

The disadvantage becomes clear when the low-income groups also demand the quality and variety of products that shopping malls offer, which is the case especially for supermarkets (D'Haese & Huylenbroeck 2005). Some positive developments have become visible in South Africa that meet the demands of disadvantaged consumers to have the full shopping experience in retail locations such as malls. Examples of newly built malls near low-income neighbourhoods are Maponya Mall in Soweto township, Johannesburg (Posel 2010; Gauteng Province 2012), which has been labelled as a sign of freedom (Posel 2010). Others are Vangate Mall and Gugulethu Square in Cape Town, Liberty Promenade Mall in Mitchell's Plain, Khayelitsha Retail Centre in the township Khayelitsha, Kinako Mall in Port Elizabeth, NU6 Mall in Mdantsane, Buffalo City.

These represent a new trend in shopping mall developments near townships in the post-apartheid period (Teppo & Houssay-Holzschuch 2013). However, other problems, such as the negative impacts on small stores, are also coming through because of new shopping mall developments in townships (Tomlinson & Larsen 2003; Ligthelm 2008; Siyongwana & Chanza 2016). In addition, new shopping malls in townships are seen as inferior compared to more remote regional shopping centres, and low-income shoppers rather take a taxi to go to the regional shopping centre than visit the local shopping mall (Tomlinson & Larsen 2003).

### **3.3.3 The decline of retail in the CBD**

The growing emergence of shopping malls generally has caused a decay in various cities around the world. This pattern has also become visible in South Africa. Despite the intense discussion of the topic in the northern part of the globe, South African literature on retail in the CBD is hard to find. Most of the authors emphasise the negative impact on the CBD and the decline of economic activities. The general decline of the economic vitality of the CBD is



widely discussed in relation to Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg (for example Czegledy 2003; Goga 2003; Pirie 2007; Hoogendoorn et al. 2008; Geyer et al. 2012; Attwood 2013). However, the retail sector is addressed less in the South African literature, and the social importance and social relationship between retail and the liveability of the CBD remains a discussion largely in the global north.

In Cape Town, for example, the CBD has shown some decay in that the city centre was first used by the privileged, but has now become an area mainly used by the poor. In addition, tourists leave the streets after dark; fewer people are on the streets, and this causes a general feeling of insecurity (Houssay-Holzschuch & Teppo 2009). The Cape Town CBD has experienced a general decline in retail activity, in which high-order retail became replaced by lower order and informal retail (Dewar 2004). Other sources of CBD decline are visible in Johannesburg, where the liveability and economic vitality of Johannesburg's CBD have experienced a decay (Goga 2003). The reason for this was that commercial activities and the retail sector relocated to more decentralised locations. On the other hand, the retail sector shows that the emergence of shopping malls has not necessarily led to a decline in CBD retail in Johannesburg (Tomlinson & Larsen 2003). The demand from black consumers in the CBD is seen as the reason for the CBD's retail resilience. Especially after the 1990s, the CBD became an important retail supplier for the black consumer, whereas the white population largely shopped in the decentralised malls. Despite the high use of the CBD, its abandonment by companies offering things such as commercial activities and retail have encouraged crime, dirt and disorder, which eventually stimulated the black consumer to shop outside the CBD (Tomlinson & Larsen 2003). The same negative factors were also mentioned by inhabitants of Bloemfontein for not visiting the CBD (Hoogendoorn et al. 2008). The shopping malls that were developed in the townships have made it more attractive to leave the CBD. Whereas this is seen as a positive development, considering the growing accessibility of malls to the disadvantaged consumer, it has had a negative impact on the retail sector in the CBD.

Despite the pessimistic story of South African CBDs, there has been a sign of retail resilience in the last years. In Johannesburg, the CBD has become more inhabited because of the decline in businesses and offices that attracted retail activities: "As the city becomes inhabited, and as more economic activity is possible and is generated in the city, there are more eyes on the streets, there is more vigilance. It does feel like a safer place," says urban analyst Tanya Zack (*Voice of America* 2012: online).

In Cape Town, revitalisation plans have caused a turning tide since 2002 and retail in the CBD has experienced a growth in stores (Dewar 2004). Rental prices have risen and stores



such as boutiques and speciality stores are doing very well in the Cape Town centre (Pirie 2007). Simultaneously, tourists are leading to a boom in the centre of Cape Town and the city shows that the CBD can compete when the city centre represents a diversity of users such as pedestrians, a high number of tourist attractions, creative industries, diverse store offerings and high-quality architectural design (Pirie 2007).

Besides for the big cities of South Africa, such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, which have a very resilient CBD, the CBDs of smaller cities are declining and attract a less strong tourist base in South Africa. Examples of decentralisation are visible in Stellenbosch (Musakwa 2013) and in Plettenberg Bay (Van Rensburg & Campbell 2011). However, the literature in general provides only a few cases of CBD decline in South Africa. Literature on retail decline in the CBD is even rarer. Sources that refer to the decay of CBDs or their revitalisation plans mostly name Johannesburg and Cape Town as their examples, instead of smaller sized cities.

### **3.4 Summary**

Despite of limited coverage in South African literature, is it possible to look at South Africa from an international perspective. The focus of the literature review was to examine the foundation of shopping mall developments in South Africa. To achieve that aim, international and South African literature provided an answer to why and to what extent South Africa is 'mall' and 'decentralising'. From here, the main concerns of shopping mall developments came forward in the possible threat to retail in the CBD and to the low levels of access by disadvantaged consumers. The international literature provided the base of these themes and is applied to South Africa, also via South African literature.

The answer why and how the shopping mall has arisen in South Africa has mainly to do with four concepts: (1) high car dependency, (2) post-industrial economy, (3) living traditions and consumer preferences, and (4) a lack of a robust planning system. Considering these conditions, it has become clear that South Africa is a highly decentralised country, which is clearly evident in the country's urban density levels. South Africa has one of the lowest densities in the world in its urban patterns. Its economy, high car dependency, segregation, legacy of apartheid planning and the present lack of an effective planning system have made it possible to decentralise on a massive scale.

The competition between the CBD and the shopping malls on the edges of cities seem to have been won by the shopping malls, which offer a bigger base of shops under one rooftop compare to the congestion, parking problems, emerging crime and dirt in the CBD. These conditions strengthen the negative cycle, which forces more consumers to shop outside the CBD. Despite the high level of decline and decay in the CBDs, there are signs of resilience and

successful revitalisation plans to uphold the retail sector in the CBD, although major plans, successes and literature are only visible in relation to the large cities, such as Cape Town and Johannesburg, which also offer strong tourist attractions.

Disadvantaged consumers are defined as people who are disabled, or have a low income or do not own a car. That the disadvantaged consumer is disadvantaged through his/her non-car ownership and low income is more than evident. Shopping malls are only accessible by car and are located near middle-income and high-income neighbourhoods, such as in South Africa. South Africa is a developing country with a high share of disadvantaged consumers characterised by racial and income inequality. Some black people have been able to catch up in the middle and high-income class, in which the racial inequality has shifted slightly towards an income inequality. In addition to low income and unlikely car ownership, the geographical location of residents also plays an important role in identifying the disadvantaged consumer. The regulation of townships for the different racial groups during the apartheid period exaggerated the geographical distance from new shopping mall developments and retail facilities.

## CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Introduction

From examining the literature on the deeper causes and negative outcomes of retail decentralisation and shopping malls, it becomes evident that the main negative outcomes of shopping malls can be noticed in relation to the disadvantaged consumer and retail in the CBD. To summarise, the literature has shown us the following gaps in the topic: Firstly is the general relationship between the rise of shopping malls and limited access by the disadvantaged consumer, which is hardly discussed in South Africa. Secondly, the decline in retail in the CBD in South Africa has been researched and discussed in combination with revitalisation plans, but not in relation to small and medium-sized cities. Therefore, this thesis focuses on small and medium-sized cities in South Africa and the impacts of their shopping malls on the disadvantaged consumer and retail in the CBD.

These conditions gave rise to the research and its aim, and makes it easy to find a path towards the methodology. This essentially is an approach focusing on the negative side of shopping malls, whilst the positive elements of shopping malls are undoubtedly there. The main positive elements are good accessibility, a high variety of products on offer and a convenient shopping experience. This thesis takes the same step of those critics to look at the limitations of shopping malls for the disadvantaged consumer and the threat to retail in the CBD.

Empirical research on the disadvantaged consumer and retail transformations caused by shopping malls and CBDs has not been common in South Africa. The lack of empirical South African research on retail in the CBD and the disadvantaged consumer, in combination with small and medium-sized cities, gave rise to the research aim for this study. The research aim of the study thus was to examine the effects of decentralised shopping malls on the disadvantaged consumer and retail in the CBD in Paarl and Stellenbosch in the Western Cape province. On the basis of this approach, the objectives were developed as follows:

- \* Examine the literature on the deeper causes of retail decentralisation, shopping malls and their social impacts in the world and in South Africa.
- \* Give an overview of and background to retail transformation in the CBD and decentralised malls of Paarl and Stellenbosch.
- \* Examine the shopping location preferences of disadvantaged and advantaged consumers in Paarl and Stellenbosch.

The objectives can be ordered into two groups. In short, the objectives examine the effects of shopping malls, firstly on retail in the CBD and secondly on the disadvantaged consumer. Thirdly, to provide the context of this study of both issues in Paarl and Stellenbosch, a background study was conducted of both towns.

#### **4.1.1 Research approach**

The research on the disadvantaged consumer and retail in the CBD demanded different approaches: Whereas retail transformations in the CBD entails quantitative research, the research approach in relation to the disadvantaged consumer required qualitative research. The differences between the two approaches and their assessment are important to specify. The assessment of both effects has mainly to do with correct data gathering that could give an answer on the impacts of shopping malls.

The research on the disadvantaged consumer took mainly a quantitative approach, although a qualitative approach would also have been possible. Whereas qualitative approaches focus, among others, on consumers' experiences, feelings or annoyances, which are hard to measure, retail transformations are often expressed in numbers of openings and closures. In relation to shopping malls, these data are easier to identify instead of qualitative data.

Furthermore, to form a context for both issues in Paarl and Stellenbosch, a background study was conducted to provide insight into the cities and the planning process of decentralised shopping malls, and to obtain the feelings and opinions of the local community. The background study could be referred to as an ex-post study. An ex-post study looks for the relationship between an intervention and the community, and their experiences of and feelings about the project and the quality of impact assessments in the past. This approach was used as the guideline to conduct the background study (Baines et al. 2003).

The effects of shopping malls on the disadvantaged consumer and retail in the CBD were established as the basis of this empirical study, which involved important actors. In Paarl and Stellenbosch, the actors were different shop owners, consumers or associations, which could be affected positively or negatively by the newly developed shopping malls. The literature provided specific information on the disadvantaged consumer, which was taken into count. The actors involved that were important for data gathering were locals near the shopping mall, associations that had organised and felt affected by the shopping mall, consumers (disadvantaged and advantaged), single stores in the central business district and in the shopping mall, the mall management, governments (local and provincial) and finally, chamber of commerce organisations.

The actors, combined with the approach to impact assessments and the objectives, formed a brief list of research questions to answer each objective. The next section discusses the questions and explains why they were formulated.

## 4.2 Research questions

To answer the research aim, the following sub-questions were formulated. The first sub-questions, questions I, II and III, refer to the retail transformations and aim to answer whether the CBD or decentralised malls show signs of resilience or decline:

- I** Do stores in the CBD increase or decrease?
- II** Do shopping malls outside the CBD increase or decrease?
- III** What are the differences in certain type of stores?

Questions I and II were used to investigate the retail transformations in the CBDs of Stellenbosch and Paarl. As is evident from the literature, the impacts on the CBD are among the main possible impacts that are caused by shopping malls (cf. Guy 1998; Pacione 2009; Portas 2011; Rotem-Mindali 2012; Ozuduru, Varol & Ercoskun Yalsiner 2014). However, resilience features could be identified and therefore the possibility that the CBD or the shopping mall shrinks or grows has been left open in the questions. Specialist stores and unique locations in the CBD could contribute to the resilience of the retail sector (cf. Wrigley & Dolega 2011; Ozuduru, Varol & Ercoskun Yalsiner 2014). Question III was asked to emphasise the possibility that different types of stores could be preferred differently in the CBD and the shopping mall. The resilience of the retail sector in the CBD also shows that different kinds of stores, such as specialist stores, theatres, furniture and kitchen appliances stores could perform better in the CBD. There are signs of this in Turkey, for example (Ozuduru, Varol & Ercoskun Yalsiner 2014). Entertainment businesses possibly are present more in shopping malls rather than the CBD, for example, while jewellery stores may be present more in the CBD than in the shopping mall.

The following three sub-questions refer to the social impact of shopping malls that could be visible in Paarl and Stellenbosch:

- IV** Do different shoppers, advantaged and disadvantaged, experience a different convenience of stores?
- V** Do consumers, advantaged and disadvantaged, prefer to shop in the shopping mall or in the CBD, and why?

**VI** Background: What were the planning processes, what was the background to the city and what are the feelings of the local communities, groups and individuals in relation to the retail transformation?

Questions IV and V address the inequality problem between the advantaged and disadvantaged consumer. The goal was to assess the impact on the disadvantaged and advantaged consumer as a result of the emergence of shopping malls. Shopping malls offer products and services in a convenient way but that is not very accessible by disadvantaged consumers (Bromley & Thomas 1993b; Williams & Hubbard 2001). The disadvantaged consumer is also conceptualised as the consumer without a car, with a low income and, in South Africa, living in run-down neighbourhoods such as townships.

Questions IV and V try to examine the real difference between the disadvantaged and advantaged consumer. The purpose was to test if polarisation can be observed between the disadvantaged and advantaged consumer, and if the disadvantaged consumers indeed rather shop in the city centre and inferior shopping instead of prime locations. Prime shopping locations offer the highest variety and convenient products, mostly in shopping malls in which the well-known trademarks are represented. Disadvantaged consumers seem to prefer to have the shopping experience offered by the prime locations (Williams & Hubbard 2001; D'Haese & Huylenbroeck 2005). On the other hand, the CBD is an important location for the disadvantaged consumer to shop due to their reliability on walking and public transport (Bromley & Thomas 2002).

The main aim of question VI was to provide the background story of the Stellenbosch and Paarl shopping malls and CBD retail. Important concepts to provide this background story were the feelings, annoyances and experiences of the planning process as expressed by the local community, the building of the shopping malls, the quality of impact assessment and the present social impacts caused by the completed shopping malls in Paarl and Stellenbosch.

Important sources in this matter were the governmental archives of permit approvals that contain research on impacts, records of possibly public participation, and letters of objection from locals. The latter offer a range of objections from different groups, local communities and associations. Furthermore, newspaper articles provide information on the building of shopping malls, opinions on this and, lastly, the opinions of the local government, such as the town planners, which could explain the pros and cons of shopping malls and their impacts on the CBD.

These sub-research questions provided the guideline for the research that was conducted, as well as the methods used and the results. These questions, I to VI, are discussed below along with the methods applied.

### **4.3 Applied methods and data analysis**

In order to answer the formulated sub-questions, different research methods were used to acquire the necessary data, which therefore were analysed differently. The transformations in retail are measurable from the opening and closure of shops, and the social impact through the experiences and feelings of consumers, which demands a qualitative approach. The next section discusses the selected methods and the data analysis that was applied to the retail transformation research, the consumer survey and the background study.

#### **4.3.1 Retail transformations: Questions I to III**

Street view pictures from Google (2015a) from 2009 and 2010 provided images of the retail patterns five years ago. Secondly, more recent observations of the same retail streets were done in May 2014. The main retail streets in Stellenbosch and Paarl were chosen to observe the retail stock. The streets in question are Lady Grey Street in Paarl, and Bird and Church Streets in Stellenbosch. Both surveys provide a full empirical picture of the changes in retail composition in the five-year period from 2009 to 2014. Figure 4.1 illustrates the locations of the selected shopping streets and shopping malls.



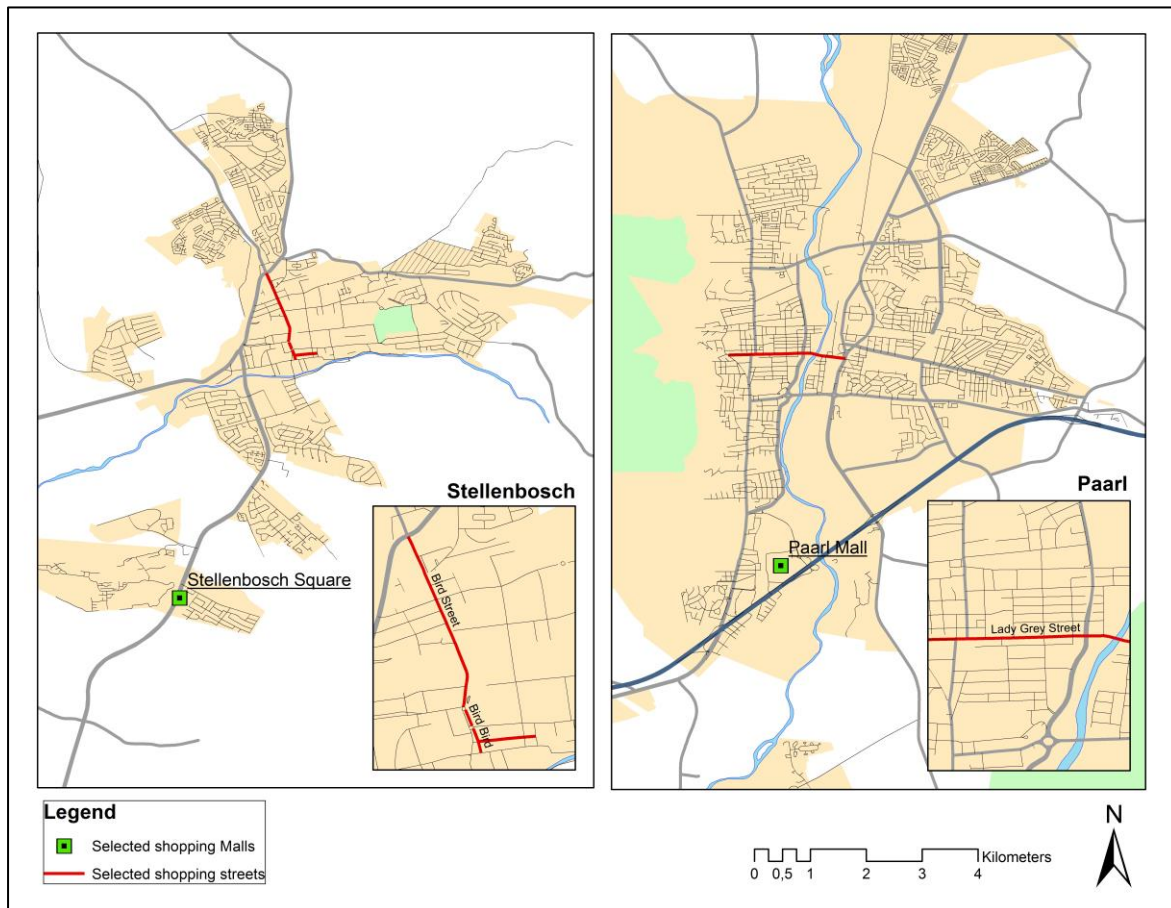


Figure 4.1 Location of the selected shopping streets and shopping malls

The second question was whether shopping malls outside the CBD shrink or grow. To provide an answer, information on sale values, vacancy rates, and closure or opening of stores in shopping malls was gathered from the mall management and storeowners through in-depth interviews. The same time span, of 2009 to 2014, was used to obtain this particular information, to allow for meaningful data analysis and comparison. The two shopping malls are both located outside the CBDs of the towns and compete with retail in the CBD: the malls are Stellenbosch Square, located in the suburb of Jamestown, and Paarl Mall. Paarl Mall opened in 2005 and Stellenbosch Square in 2003.

To assess the change in retail composition based on the gathered data from the street observations, the retail stock of the selected streets and malls were compared from three different points of analysis:

- (1) The first analysis was the absolute difference in the number of stores between the two observations of retail categories in the CBD or mall in 2009/2010 and 2014/2015.
- (2) The second analysis was the relative difference in the number of stores between the two observations of retail categories in the CBD or mall in 2009/2010 and 2014/2015.



- (3) The third analysis was the relative difference in the number of stores, categorised into quality classes of A retail and B retail, between the two observations in the CBD or mall in 2009/2010 and 2014/2015.

This provided an answer to whether the CBD had declined in its retail stock from 2009 to 2014 and whether there were differences between the types of stores. Moreover, it also indicated any resilience features in the CBDs of Stellenbosch and Paarl, between types of stores and retail stock. Lastly, these three analyses provided comprehensive data to answer the sub-research questions.

To know the differences in certain type of stores, it is important to use the right categorisation of retail services and retailing. Categorisation is useful in the data analysis to compare the different results from the CBDs and shopping malls. Previous research on retail patterns, and particularly retail resilience research, provide some indication of how stores could be categorised. In these analyses, the single retail stores were categorised in terms of the list below. This list is based mainly on Wrigley and Dolega (2011) and inspired by Cachinho (2014) and Ozuduru, Varol and Ercoskun Yalsiner (2014). In this research, the variety of stores, which was immense, was categorised into five main categories that contain all possible retail products and services that are found in the shopping mall and shopping street. The categories are:

- (1) Non-food retail: all the essentially non-food retailing such as footwear, furniture and telephones;
- (2) Convenience: food retailing such as butchers, health food and supermarkets;
- (3) Retail services: all possible services such as travel agents, opticians and post offices;
- (4) Leisure services: bars, restaurants, clubs, disco, fast food and takeaways; and
- (5) Financial and business services: printing and copying, retail banks, building societies.

Adapted from Wrigley and Dolega (2011: 2363).

By using the five base categories it was easy to compare the situation between the different street observations from Google street view and the shops in the shopping malls. The examples that are named under each category above are a few examples from many more. A full list of all the different stores is provided in Appendix A.

#### 4.3.1.1 Store quality categorisation

For further categorisation during the street analyses of the CBD, another quality categorisation was added to the analysis. Whereas at first sight there could be a difference between kinds of retail, as shown by Wrigley and Dolega (2011), there also is a difference in the quality of stores. This categorisation is very important to provide an indication of the retail in the CBD in the previous five years, during which retail could have been impoverished by quality and changes in the number of stores. Methods for retail research on this kind of categorisation were not found; therefore, a quick scan to categorise retail quality was done made by labelling stores as A retail and B retail. A retail are stores with a trademark or good quality appearance and B retail are stores with no trademark relation or with a bad quality appearance.

Firstly, trademark relationships of well-known trademarks are easy to recognise by the name of the store. For the following categories, well-known South African trademarks were identified and labelled as A retail. For non-food retail, the trademarks included Mr Price, Totalsports, Foschini, Ackermans and Edgars. For convenience stores, Checkers was listed as a trademark, and for financial services African Bank, Capitec and Standard Bank, among others.

Secondly, despite the categorisation based on trademark, many stores that have a good quality appearance are not related to any trademark in their offering. Regarding their quality offering, it would be unfair to categorise those stores as B retail. Therefore, an additional category was introduced based on the store's appearance of quality during street observations and from observing street view images. Stores that were not clearly related to well-known trademarks and that also were not bad in appearance, the so-called grey area, were categorised as A retail. Stores that were not related to a trademark and appeared to be of low quality were labelled as B retail. This categorisation provided an indication from a quick scan and is not objectively solid, as probably more stores could have been considered as B retail, but rather provides an indication of the number of stores that were in a run-down state. To provide an idea of impoverished stores, Figure 4.2 shows an example of different stores that were categorised as B retail.



Source: Author (2014)

Figure 4.2 Examples of B retail in Lady Grey Street, Paarl

By using this categorisation, for example, an art gallery with a high-quality appearance would not be picked up as A retail when there is no trademark relation. However, the art gallery would be selected as A retail because of its high-quality appearance. The word appearance is well chosen, because the assessment was based on street observations, while a solid quality assessment of products and offers would demand a visit to check product prices and quality.

#### 4.3.1.2 In-depth interviews

The street observations provided a quantitative image of retail in the shopping mall and CBD. However, key informants could provide much more information, such as reports on and crucial information about retail transformations. Using this approach, in-depth interviews asked key informants whether there had been an upward or downward trend in retail in the CBD and the shopping malls, and whether they saw a different trend between kinds of retail. To complement the street observations, the questions referred to the same time span of 2009 to 2014. Relevant concepts that were asked about in relation to the CBD and shopping malls were vacancies, trends, jobs, closures and openings.

The key informants who were questioned were handpicked because of their local knowledge. For example, town planners from Stellenbosch Municipality and from Drakenstein Municipality (under which Paarl falls) provided information and their opinions of the retail situation in the CBD and shopping malls. In addition, shopping mall managers and shop owners in Paarl Mall and Stellenbosch Square and the CBDs were questioned about the shopping mall's economic situation. An informed consent form was presented prior to the interviews, which took place in the office or store of the particular key informant. In total, 11 key informants were interviewed. For more details on the ethics and the ethical clearance of the thesis, please see section 4.4.

The gathered data from the in-depth interviews contained opinions and facts on retail in the CBDs and the economic situation of the shopping malls. It included indications of downward or upward trends in the market for shopping malls and CBD retail, as well as closures, openings and differences between types of stores. For a full overview of the interview questions, please see Appendix C. In short, the discussed topics were categorised into three groups, which were based on the research sub-questions I, II and III discussed in section 4.2: (1) Retail situation of the CBD, now and in the last five years, (2) situation of the shopping mall, now and in the last five years and (3) the differences between type of stores.

The questions that were asked refer specifically to these three topics. Therefore, the gathered data contained straightforward, mainly quantitative, data, which was noted down or recorded, and then analysed. For analysis, the transcripts were compared on differences and similarities on each of the topics presented above. Lastly, to provide a conclusion the findings of the in-depth interviews were compared to the relevant international and South African literature on retail transformation and the rise of shopping malls, and possible retail resilience features.

#### **4.3.2 Survey on the consumer: Questions IV and V**

This section describes the methods used and the data analysis applied to the answers to questions IV and V, which are on the experiences of the facility level of stores and the preferences of advantaged and disadvantaged consumers in Paarl and Stellenbosch. To obtain this information, a questionnaire was compiled to collect primary data from the field. The face-to-face questionnaire survey used convenience sampling to provide a snapshot of the feelings and experiences of different consumers in Paarl and Stellenbosch. The objective of this survey was to examine the preferences of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers in these cities. The particular survey questions aimed to examine whether the disadvantaged consumer rather visited the shopping mall or the city centre for products and services and if the two different consumers experienced a different facility level.

##### **4.3.2.1 Target population: Who is the disadvantaged consumer?**

The target population was consumers living in Stellenbosch and Paarl over the age of 18 years. But who are advantaged and disadvantaged consumers? Based on the literature, the disadvantaged consumer has no car, a low income, and lives in a disadvantaged neighbourhood (Bromley & Thomas 1993b; Guy 1998; Williams & Hubbard 2001). Therefore, to decide whether a consumer was disadvantaged or not, the following choices were made: First, if the consumer lived in one of the low-income neighbourhoods in the municipality of Paarl or Stellenbosch, the respondent was considered as disadvantaged. Data on income levels were

obtained from neighbourhood ward profiles from Drakenstein Municipality and suburb data from Stellenbosch University on Stellenbosch Municipality (Table 4.1). The average annual income levels were categorised as low-income, middle-income and high-income neighbourhoods, based on the following brackets (R0–R42 000, R42 001–360 000, 360 001+).

Table 4.1 Average income level of neighbourhoods in the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein municipalities

Stellenbosch		Drakenstein	
Neighbourhood	Income bracket	Neighbourhood (based on ward districts)	Income bracket
Kayamandi	Low	Windmeul Plase	Low
Klapmuts	Low	Silvertown, Mbekweni	Low
Langrug	Low	New Rest, Mbekweni	Low
Mandela City	Low	Thusong, Clinic, Mbekweni	Low
Weltevrede Park	Low	Nederberg, Chicago, Magnolia	Low
Bennetsville	Middle	Carterville	Low
Cloetesville	Middle	Mbekweni	Low
De Hollandsche	Middle	Amstelhof	Low
Devon Valley	Middle	Chicago	Low
Elsenburg	Middle	Gouda, Hermon	Low
Franschhoek	Middle	Groenheuwel, Smartietown	Low
Groendal	Middle	Saron	Low
Idasvallei	Middle	Mbekweni	Low
Jamestown	Middle	New Orleans, Charleston Hill, Huguenot	Middle
Kleingeluk	Middle	Denneburg, Klein Parys, Langvlei	Middle
Kylemore	Middle	Noorder Paarl - Slot V/D Paarl	Middle
La Colline	Middle	Ronwee, Sonop, Salem	Middle
Languedoc	Middle	Voor Street, Uitsig - Wellington	Middle
Pniel	Middle	Soetendal, Wellington	Middle
Raithby	Middle	Nederburg	Middle
Tennantsville	Middle	Lantana, New York, Spesbona, Dallas, Mountain View, Riverside	Middle
Weltevrede	Middle	Patent Place, Wellington	Middle
Wemmershoek	Middle	Simondium	Middle
Wiesiedraai	Middle	Newton, Van Wyksvlei, Safmarine	Middle
Brandwacht	High	Van Wyksvlei	Middle
Dalsig	High	Groenheuwel, Fairyland	Middle
Die Boord	High	Nederberg, Lantana	Middle
Hugenate	High	Suider Paarl	High
Lynedoch	High	Kerk Street, Berg-en-Dal	High
Onder Papagaaiberg	High	Paarl-Central	High
Paradyskloof	High	Noorder-Paarl	High
Welgevonden	High		

Source: Drakenstein Municipality (2013); Stellenbosch University (2013)

Secondly, car ownership was also mentioned in the literature as a main factor that disadvantaged consumers lack. The decentralised urban pattern in South Africa makes the car

a convenient, safe and mobile way of transport compared to public transport, especially to access shopping malls. To sum up, the disadvantaged consumer was selected on the following data: (1) living in a low-income neighbourhood and (2) living in a middle- to high-income neighbourhood without owning a car. The respondents were asked early in the questionnaire to indicate in which neighbourhood of the city they lived and whether or not they owned a car.

#### 4.3.2.2 Consumers' experiences and preferences

To assess why consumers preferred to shop in the shopping mall or in the city centre, several claims were presented to which the respondent had to answer on a Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neutral, somewhat agree to strongly agree. The presented claims, discussed below, were adapted from Cachinho (2014).

Firstly, the respondent had to indicate whether he/she owned a car, in which neighbourhood he/she lived, and how often he/she visited the shopping mall or city centre. These conditions identified the respondent as a disadvantaged or advantaged consumer. Secondly, the respondent provided an answer to he/she preferred to shop in a certain location and whether he/she was satisfied with the retail facilities. Thirdly, a relationship could be drawn between advantaged and disadvantaged consumers on the basis of their shopping preferences and opinions. For example, how often does a disadvantaged consumer visit the shopping mall and the CBD? Moreover, with what conditions is the consumer satisfied with the visited shopping areas – the CBD or shopping mall? In the last section, the respondent was asked to give a clear indication of whether he/she would like to shop in the shopping mall or the city centre for certain products and services. Here, limited products and services were chosen based on the categories of Wrigley and Dolega (2011: 2363) and Ozuduru, Varol and Ercoskun Yalsiner (2014: 154). The complete questionnaire is provided in Appendix B.

#### 4.3.2.3 Sampling

In total, 346 respondents were sampled through convenience sampling in the shopping streets and malls in November and December 2014 and March 2015. To guarantee higher response rates, questionnaires were done face to face. Anyone who was available in the location was approached, and most respondents agreed to participate when they were waiting or strolling in the shopping places and streets.

Convenience sampling has its advantages in research. One of the advantages of convenience sampling is the possibility to gather as many respondents as possible in a short period. However, the serious limitations of this approach have to be considered. The findings of convenience sampling, although interesting, are not generalisable to all consumers in the two

cities of Paarl and Stellenbosch. The population of convenience sampling contains only people who were willing to participate and were in that particular location, and excludes those who were not in that location or were unwilling to participate. Therefore, the results of convenience sampling are exploratory and provide only an indication. This should be taken into consideration when interpreting the conclusion.

### **4.3.3 Data analysis**

In total, 346 consumers were asked to complete questionnaires in Paarl and Stellenbosch. It is important to note that the data gathered from the questionnaires was obtained by nonprobability convenience sampling, which shows its bias through the exclusion of potential respondents shopping in other locations. By conducting descriptive analysis and a limited statistical analysis, there are important limitations to consider in advance.

The questionnaire provided different quantitative nominal and ordinal variables of basic profile information and shopping preferences and experiences. The survey was compiled to provide answers to sub-research questions IV and V from section 4.2. The main goal was to discover if the level of retail facilities was experienced differently by the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers and if they rather preferred the shopping mall or the CBD for shopping purposes. The respondents were from Paarl and Stellenbosch and were analysed separately, as presented in Chapter 5 on Paarl and in Chapter 6 on Stellenbosch respectively.

#### **4.3.3.1 Descriptive analysis**

First, the data gathered by means of the questionnaires was coded. Questions were transformed into variables and the answers coded in numbers. Responses on a nominal and ordinal scale were stored in IBM SPSS 22 computer software for the 346 respondents, along with their basic demographic data. Second, a descriptive profile was drawn up of consumers from Paarl and Stellenbosch for the analysis, in which the frequency and percentage of respondents in terms of age, gender, years of residence, neighbourhood, car ownership and means of transport were summarised. Third, the respondents were distributed into two types of consumers in Stellenbosch and Paarl, namely disadvantaged and advantaged. These were determined by car ownership and neighbourhood of residence. In short, an advantaged consumer was deemed to live in a high-income neighbourhood or in a middle-income neighbourhood and owned a car. Self-evidently, a disadvantaged consumer lived in a low-income neighbourhood or in a middle-income neighbourhood without owning a car. Fourth, a table and item analysis were obtained from the SPSS program on the ordinal data that show the frequency and percentage of advantaged and disadvantaged consumers in terms of every



variable that referred to the number of visits, shopping opinions on and preferences for the CBD or shopping mall.

Last, the descriptive analysis showed the percentage proportions of consumers in relation to all asked questions and provided a view of the experiences of the respondents. However, to provide an answer on whether the disadvantaged and advantaged consumer had a different experience of the shopping areas and facility level between them, more analysis had to be done.

#### 4.3.3.2 Nonprobability convenience sampling and statistical analysis

Section 2 of the questionnaire is the most interesting for providing an overview of the different answers from the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. Here, the respondents were asked to answer, on a Likert scale, claims such as ‘the shopping mall is a place with a pleasant environment’ and ‘the city centre is a place where I can find almost everything I need’.

To assess the significance between the answers of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers, more statistical analysis had to be done. Considering the method of convenience sampling, a statistical analysis to compare two groups was in fact not possible when the rule of random sampling was violated. However, when considering the sample limitations, statistical outcomes were not generalisable, but rather interesting and explanatory. Statistical inference provided an exploratory result rather than a concluding result.

The aim of this statistical analysis was to compare the differences in the survey answers between the two independent groups: the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers respectively. The questions were answered according to a Likert scale, therefore the answers were ordinal variables, which demand a nonparametric statistical test. In this regard, the Mann-Whitney U test was chosen to find a significant difference in the shopping preferences and experiences between the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. As a result, the tests provided important insight into how exactly the shopping experiences of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers differ in the shopping mall and the city centre.

#### 4.3.4 Background study: Question VI

The final research question (number VI) referred to the background story of the selected shopping malls and CBD retail. For the research on the local context, a document search was done on the built shopping malls. These documents provided information about the planning process, and any objections from the local CGI. Important sources were the municipal archives and the provincial archives. First, information on the malls in question was gathered, such as photographs of the building site, maps, local histories and documentation reporting on the planning process, such as the permit discussions, objections and council meetings. The relevant



documents included council meeting minutes, correspondence between the administrators involved and on objections, maps of the building sites, application documents for the shopping malls and approval documents. Furthermore, interesting documents that were gathered included research reports on local history, transport, and economic impact research. Documents were ordered from the archives and scanned for vital information of local CGI that had participated in the permit process. Any relevant information on the planning process, the expected effects of the malls, the current situation, liaison between the mall administrators, governments and local CGI, as well as monitoring, was analysed.

Secondly, in-depth interviews were conducted with 11 key informants, including long-time residents and town planners, selected through handpicked sampling. These respondents provided an idea and explanation of the effects and impacts on the local CGI. Questions were related to the shopping malls built in Paarl and Stellenbosch, and asked about the expected effects, planning process, public participation, and current situation. For analysis, the transcripts were compared in terms of differences and similarities in relation to the latter concepts. Lastly, a full picture of the planning process of the malls had to be obtained, along with the experiences and feelings of the local CGI. For the template of the in-depth interviews, please see Appendix D.

#### **4.4 Ethical issues**

The conducted questionnaires were subject to approval from the Humanities Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at Stellenbosch University. Approval was requested from and granted by the HREC on 18 November 2014. For the different aspects of data collection, different ethical issues were considered. Firstly, for the in-depth interviews, an informed consent form was formulated specifically for this study. This form and approach guaranteed that the interviewees knew why they had been selected and that the interview was completely voluntary, that they were anonymous, what the risks were, that the information was highly confidential, that they had the right to refuse or withdraw, and that the interview is only recorded with informed consent. Key informants were approached by telephone, e-mail or in person and the research procedure and their rights were clearly explained to them. Prior to the main interview questions, the interviewees were asked about their rights and the interview procedure as a final check. After the interview, the interviewees were thanked with a little present and asked if they would like to have a copy of the final thesis.

Secondly, for the questionnaires, people were approached by the researcher, followed by a clear explanation of the academic purpose of the study, the anonymity of the respondent, the question list, time, the right to withdraw or to refuse to answer a question, and lastly were asked

if they would like to participate. In the case of refusal, the researcher kindly thanked the person and approached the next potential respondent through convenience sampling. If the respondent agreed to participate, questions were generally read out while the respondent also read the questions. On some occasions, the questionnaire was filled out by the respondent himself while the interviewer waited at a distance. On completion of the questionnaire, the respondent was thanked for his/her participation.

#### **4.5 Summary of the methodology**

This chapter has explained the aim of this research, its objectives, and the research sub-questions. To achieve the objectives, in-depth interviews with key informants and street observations of shopping streets and malls firstly were conducted, including archival document research, to provide an overview of the retail transformation and the decentralised shopping malls. Secondly, through convenience sampling, 346 consumers were surveyed in the shopping streets and malls to examine the shopping location preferences of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers.

For data analysis, a comparative approach was used to compare the results of the in-depth interviews and street observations. In the analysis, stores were categorised in terms of kinds of stores and their quality. The main comparison was the Google street view observation of 2009 compared with the street view observations of 2014. For the surveys, a descriptive and statistical analysis by Mann-Whitney U test was done to provide an overview and assess significant differences in the shopping location experiences of advantaged and disadvantaged consumers. Lastly, archival documents on the shopping malls were analysed and compared. Besides for the analysis, relevant ethical issues for data collection have also been discussed in this chapter. The results of the data analysis are explained in Chapter 5 for the results on Paarl, and in Chapter 6 for the results on Stellenbosch.

## CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY OF PAARL

The literature study in Chapters 2 and 3 explained that South Africa experienced strong urban decentralisation along with retail decentralisation, in which the expansion of shopping malls started and which is continuing unabated. This chapter is sorted into three main sections. First, this chapter provides a brief introduction to Paarl and the background to Paarl’s CBD and the newly built Paarl Mall, and data gathered from archival sources and in-depth interviews are discussed. Secondly, the street observations of retail stock in the CBD and Paarl Mall are presented. Thirdly, the results of the questionnaires, which were conducted in 2014/2015 to examine the consumer preferences, are presented along with the descriptive and statistical analysis.

### 5.1 Introduction

Paarl has around 126 000 inhabitants and is the economic and administrative centre of the Drakenstein Municipal area (Drakenstein Municipality 2010). Paarl is located next to the N1 highway and is approximately 60 km from the Cape Town CBD (Figure 5.1). In addition, Paarl is surrounded by other medium-sized cities, such as Worcester to the east and Stellenbosch to the south.

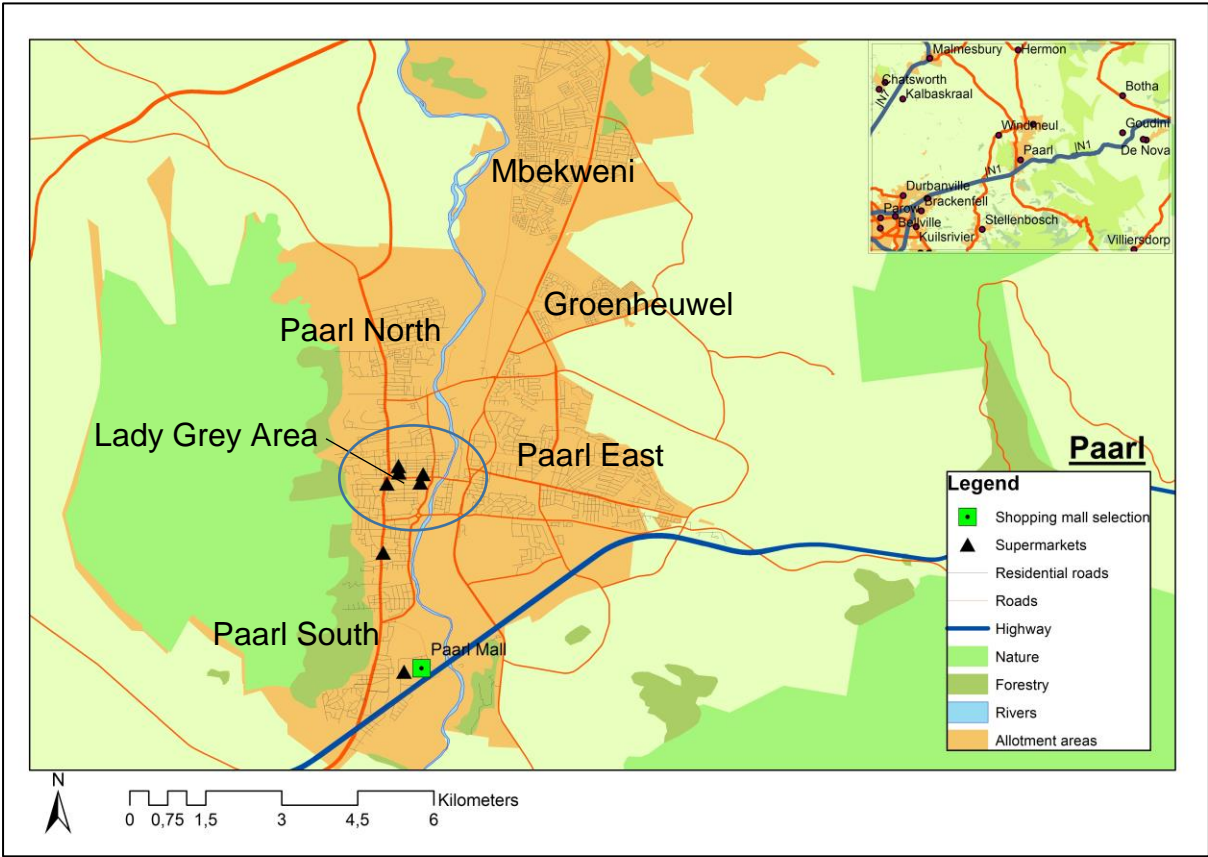


Figure 5.1 Study Area: Paarl

A river flows through Paarl and a railway divides the city into a western part and an eastern part (Figure 5.1). This divide provided a successful barrier to implement racial neighbourhood planning, in terms of which formal white neighbourhoods were located in Paarl West (CBD, Paarl North and South), and formal coloured and black neighbourhoods were located east of the Berg River in Paarl East and Groenheuwel (Drakenstein Municipality 2010). For example, Mbekweni to the northeast and New Orleans in the east are populated by black Africans and coloured people respectively (Drakenstein Municipality 2010).

The main businesses are concentrated around Lady Grey Street and Main Road in Paarl West, which forms Paarl's CBD. Other business areas, in Paarl East and Mbekweni, are limited and are neglected due to the growing business area at Main Road in Paarl West (Drakenstein Municipality 2010). Lady Grey Street crosses the Berg River by bridge and therefore connects Paarl West with Paarl East. This connection enhances the access to the low- and middle-income neighbourhoods in the east and is for the large part used by people living in Paarl East. The Lady Grey Street area offers a full range of stores, such as retail banks, clothing stores, footwear, supermarkets, fast food, bookstores and furniture stores. Main brands are located along Lady Grey Street, including Woolworths, Spur and Edgars. On the other hand, south of the city centre of Paarl is the Paarl Mall, a 37 000 m<sup>2</sup> shopping area that opened in 2005. Paarl Mall is located on the periphery of Paarl, next to the N1, which increases the sale range of the mall to Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Malmesbury and Worcester and attracts more shoppers from the middle- to high-income classes.

The next sections discuss both shopping areas, Lady Grey Street and Paarl Mall, and their developments in the last years, to provide a background to and overview of the retail transformations that were examined. It becomes clear that both shopping areas are completely different considering their offering, shoppers and location, but still are related because of their proximity to each other.

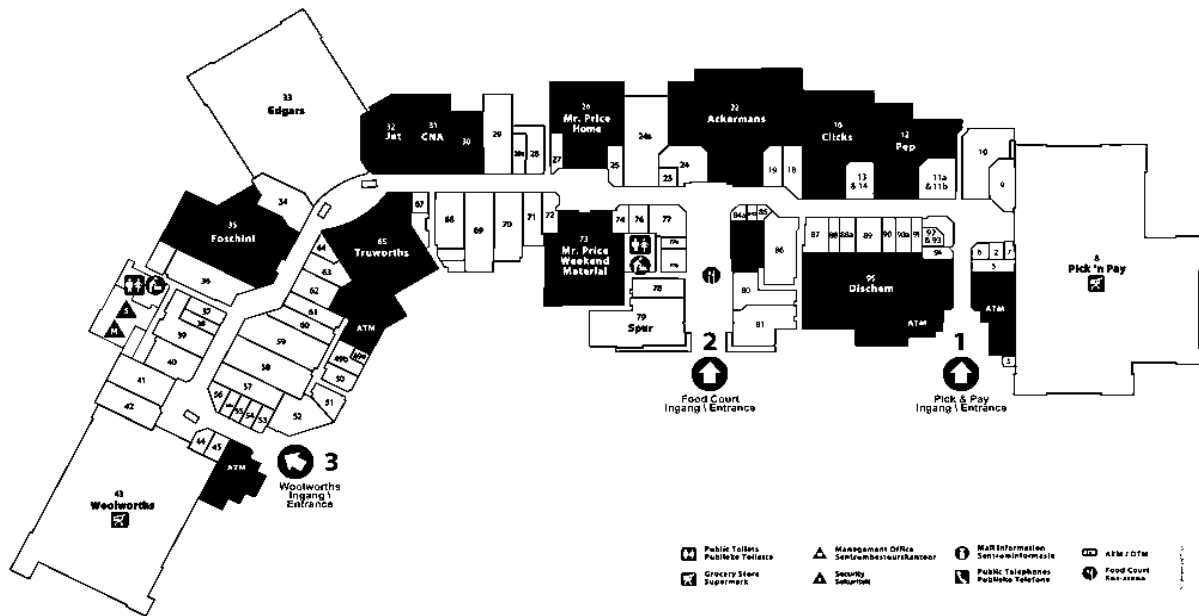
## **5.2 Lady Grey Street**

The Lady Grey Street area showed neglect and signs of a downturn in the last decade because of higher vacancies and many high-retail brands leaving the Paarl CBD, including CNA, Postnet and Musica (Drakenstein Municipality 2015a, Pers com). The CBD of Paarl experienced problems such as crime, informal trade and dirt (Van der Westhuizen 2003). An article from the *Financial Mail* (2006), 'The towns fight back', listed Paarl, among others, as one of the cities that had built new suburban shopping malls that were affecting the CBD. Larsen (2005) named Paarl as an example to address the downturn retail expectations for CBDs

in South Africa when new decentralised retail outlets are going to be built. Paarl Mall, which opened in 2005 with a full offering of retail and parking space was depicted as a threat to the CBD of Paarl. Drakenstein Municipality (2015a Pers com; 2015b, Pers com) explained that the decentralised shopping mall has had a negative effect on Paarl's CBD: The CBD of Paarl went through a difficult time after the building of Paarl Mall because of the higher vacancy rates and well-known retail brands abandoning the CBD. However, the CBD retail found a way to adjust to the newly built Paarl Mall, according to the Drakenstein Municipality (2015b, Pers com). In-depth interviews with shop owners in Lady Grey Street confirmed that shop owners had adapted to the presence of Paarl Mall since 2005 and had found ways to be resilient by adjusting their target group from high-income groups towards low- to middle-income groups. In this regard, a shop owner said explicitly that stores in Lady Grey Street offered products for a different target group than Paarl Mall, explaining that the Lady Grey area rather served low- and middle-income consumers while Paarl Mall served middle- to high-income consumers (Shop owner Paarl CBD 2015a, Pers com). Well-known brands in the Lady Grey Street, for example, have adapted their product offering to the low- and middle-income consumer (Shop owner Paarl CBD 2015b, Per com). Although there are signs of resilience, there is still a problem of crime, as burglary is present on a regular basis (Paarl Post 2015). Plans to turn the wheel were developed by Drakenstein Municipality, including a private partnership (PPS) agreement to improve pavements and parking areas, which has been the main policy for urban renewal for at least five years (Drakenstein Municipality 2010; 2013; 2015; 2015a, Pers com). However, this has not given rise to major changes regarding the crime in the last years (*Die Burger* 2009; *Paarl Post* 2012; 2015).

### **5.3 Paarl Mall**

Paarl Mall is a regional shopping centre with a shopping floor area of around 37 000 m<sup>2</sup>, with 95 stores and 1 915 parking spots (Paarl Mall 2012). The mall offers a wide range of stores under one roof and is the settlement of well-known brands, which makes the mall more upmarket oriented. Along with the stores, Paarl Mall has all the necessary conveniences, such as rest room facilities and air-conditioning. The mall has three entrances, all three accessible from the parking lot, and one entrance that is available from the back along a pathway to the local railway station.



Source: Paarl Mall (2015b) (used with permission)

Figure 5.2 Map of Paarl Mall

The demographics of Paarl Mall show that around 53% of the shoppers are female and 47% are male, with an average age of 35 to 49 years, and that 65% of the shoppers speak Afrikaans and around 60% are white, followed by 31% coloured (Paarl Mall 2014, Pers com).

The location of Paarl Mall is within the range of Lady Grey Street area, meaning that there is competition between the two retail locations and that consumers tend to visit both Lady Grey Street and the Paarl Mall, according to Paarl Mall (2014, Pers com). However, some shop owners in the Paarl Mall and in Lady Grey Street emphasised that they reached different consumers, as Paarl Mall stores attract middle- to high-income consumers and the CBD low-to middle-income consumers (Shop owner Paarl CBD 2015a, Pers com; 2015b, Pers com; Shop owner Paarl Mall 2015a, Pers com; 2015b, Pers com).

Competition between the CBD and the mall is often mentioned by newspapers in Paarl and by the Drakenstein Municipality. As the management of Paarl Mall (2014, Pers com) explains: “The positioning of Paarl Mall is based on an understanding of the market, the strength of competition (business in CBD) and future prospects for the area.” The competition between the Lady Grey area and Paarl Mall is mentioned often, especially in concerns relating to the planning process of Paarl Mall. The next sections describe the planning process of Paarl Mall and major concerns, including about the finalisation of the mall.

Paarl Mall opened on 20 October 2005 and is located to the south of Paarl, next to the N1 highway (Figure 4.2). The planning process to build Paarl Mall started in 2000. When the mall opened it had 12 vacant stores (Western Cape Government DEA&DP 2000a; Paarl Mall 2014, Pers com). Since then the mall has grown to a vacancy rate of 0%, and there is now a waiting



list if a spot becomes available in the mall. The latest numbers for Paarl Mall show growth – 6.50% for 2012/2013, and 6.83% for 2013/2014, providing jobs for around 1 280 workers in total (Paarl Mall 2014, Pers com).

The plan to build Paarl Mall started on 22 February 2000 with the application to Drakenstein Municipality for rezoning the land from industrial use to a special business zone to make the building of the mall possible (Western Cape Government DEA&DP 2000a). The news of a new mall was received neutrally by *Die Burger*, a local Afrikaans daily (Dommissie 2002). On the other hand, the *Financial Mail* (2002) saw the negative implications of the new mall for Paarl's CBD. This led to a reaction from the Drakenstein head of planning and economic development, who said that the new mall would be located close to the railway station precinct, which according to him had a high tourist potential. In short, the head of the planning department had some main arguments for positive expected effects on the area from the development of Paarl Mall: Firstly, the CBD was more congested, which made the CBD less attractive for tourists. Tourist facilities near Paarl Mall therefore could encourage spending. Secondly, urban decay near the Paarl Railway Station precinct, which needed to be improved, and the new Paarl Mall was located nearby and this would stimulate the area. Thirdly, there were limited employment opportunities in the area and Paarl Mall would stimulate more economic growth and the creation of employment opportunities. Fourthly and last, considering that the previous destination of Paarl Mall was in the industrial area, Paarl Mall would be aesthetically more attractive (Drakenstein Municipality DPED 2002). Furthermore, the head of the planning department stated to the *Financial Mail* that the CBD would be revived when Paarl Mall was completed:

The proposal is to entrench local anchor chains by expanding shops, remixing existing retailers to ensure viable trading and ease of access, urban integration and adequate parking (Drakenstein Municipality DPED 2002: s.p.).

Despite the emphasis of the municipality, concrete plans for CBD revival did not appear. A letter from NAFCOC-Drakenstein (the local chamber of commerce) was sent to the municipality to enquire about the realisation of such CBD revival plans. The municipality answered by saying that, although the applicant acknowledged the need for 'CBD upliftment', no development plans for the CBD had been submitted by the applicant (Drakenstein Municipality DPED 2003). In the end there were no concrete urban renewal projects for the CBD to mitigate the impact of Paarl Mall. The first signs of such a plan came to the fore after

2010, when a private partnership (PPS) agreement was entered into between the municipality and private owners in Lady Grey Street to improve pavements and parking areas, which comprised the main policy for urban renewal (Drakenstein Municipality 2010; 2013; 2015; 2015a, Pers com). However, real satisfactory results failed to appear (Drakenstein Municipality 2015), and the local newspapers often discuss the high crime rate in relation to Lady Grey Street (*Die Burger* 2009; *Paarl Post* 2015). Another impact of Paarl Mall that was considered was the traffic. Among others, the development of the mall would imply a doubling of a road and an addition of slip lanes, although this did not lead to further problems. To conclude, it should be mentioned that no impact research was conducted to justify that there would be no effect on the CBD when the mall was built.

Besides for these concerns, objections were submitted by local residents. Several locals living nearby Paarl Mall objected to the development. Security risks, property values and a new petrol station adjacent to the mall were regarded as unacceptable (Western Cape Government DEA&DP 2000a). Despite the chance of a court case between the local residents and the municipality, a final agreement was achieved which contained a solid wall between Paarl Mall and the residents and the relocation of the petrol station (Western Cape Government DEA&DP 2000b).

In the end, the approval of the rezoning and therefore the building of the mall were approved. Most peculiar was the fast decision by the mayor of Drakenstein Municipality to approve the application for Paarl Mall in December 2000 while he was not officially competent to do so (Drakenstein Municipality DPED 2001a). Pressure from the developer to approve was high during that time and possibly had an effect on the spontaneous decision. After all the approval by the mayor was nullified by the department of planning, local government, and housing and reconsidered by the department (Drakenstein Municipality DPED 2001b). Finally, the Government of the Western Cape approved the application for rezoning on 25 September 2001 and cleared the way for the development of Paarl Mall (Western Cape Government DEA&DP 2001).

Paarl Mall became a success. Since its opening the mall has grown towards a vacancy of 0% and it started expanding with a new building project in 2015. Considering its planning process, its impact on the CBD was acknowledged. However, no concrete urban revival plans in relation to the building of Paarl Mall have been made. Whereas the Lady Grey area attracts low- to middle-income consumers, the mall attracts middle- to high-income consumers. According to Paarl Mall (2014, Pers com), the mall is also considered a safer place than Lady Grey Street. Street observations conducted in Lady Grey Street and the Paarl Mall circa 2010



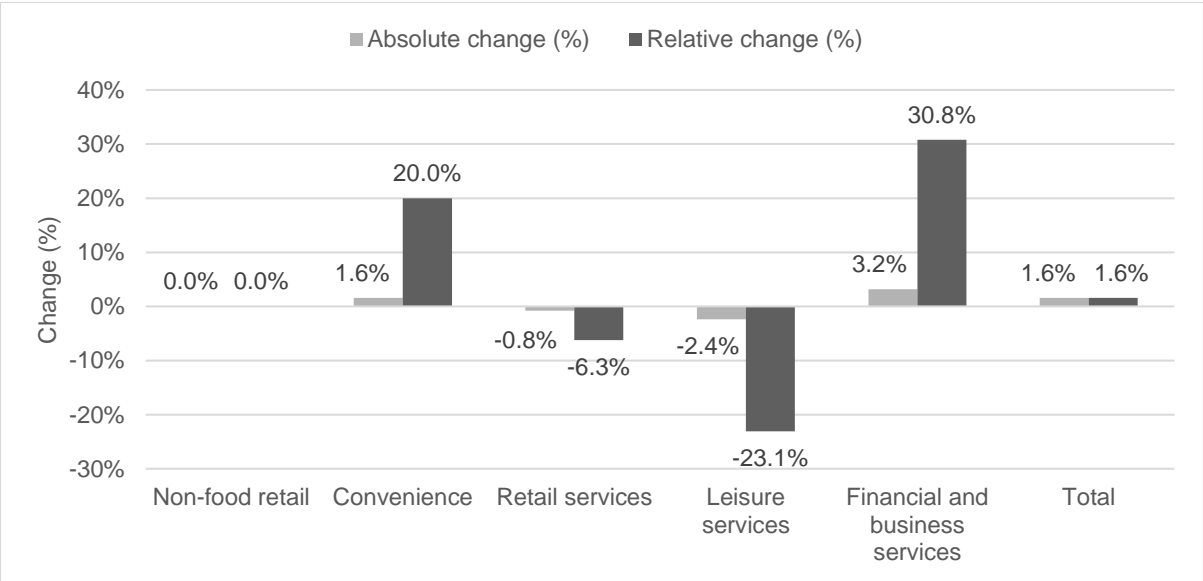
and 2015 indicated what the real retail transformations were. The next section (5.4) discusses the findings on Lady Grey Street and Paarl Mall, showing what the real retail transformations were in the last years. Section 5.5 discusses the results of the survey that was conducted in Paarl Mall and Lady Grey Street. Here it becomes clear what kinds of consumer like to shop where and why.

5.4 Findings on the retail transformation

5.4.1 Lady Grey Street

The observations in Lady Grey Street at first sight show no major differences between 2010 and 2014 in terms of retail stock. The total retail growth in Lady Grey Street was 1.6%. The absolute retail transformations are minimal in general, but some trends are visible in the shopping street when looking at the relative change per retail category (Figure 5.3).

Firstly, there is the trend of more financial and business services, with some having disappeared and more having appeared – an increase from 13 to 17 stores, which is a relative change of 30.8%. For example, a new Capitec bank, African Bank, insurance service and property service have arrived, but the biggest change is in arrival of several loan services, such as Nedbank loans. Cash Crusaders is new and offers quick cash for any valuable product that a customer can offer. Secondly, there has been a decline in leisure services, from 13 to 10 stores. A cocktail bar, specialist pie store, candy store and a cafe are among the leisure services that disappeared. Well-known (South African) brands such as Spur, Wimpy and KFC, on the other hand, have remained.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in May and June 2014

Figure 5.3 Relative and absolute retail change in Lady Grey Street from 2010 to 2014 by retail category

In the category of non-food retail, no changes are visible in the total count. However, major shifts have occurred within the category, as many stores have disappeared and new stores have appeared in the shopping street. The most mentioned new stores are cell phone, clothing and furniture stores, with many leavers and newcomers in clothing and furniture stores. Stores that have disappeared are jewellery stores, as only one store remains out of three. Clothing and furniture stores, most of them B retail, show a high rotation rate. Most of these stores are located at the end of Lady Grey Street towards the Berg River.

This brings us to the next retail category based on quality. Table 5.1 Absolute retail change by retail and quality category) shows the count results of A retail and B retail in the different retail categories.<sup>1</sup> Considering the quality of stores, there are in general no major differences between 2010 and 2014. Few changes are apparent in all categories, with one or two stores more or less apparent than in 2014. It is important to note that there are no A retail convenience stores on Lady Grey Street, and that all levels of A retail and especially brands have remained on the shopping street, while B retail shows a high rate of closures and openings between 2010 and 2014.

Table 5.1 Absolute retail change by retail and quality category

	A retail				B retail			
Retail category	2010	2014	Change N	Change (%)	2010	2014	Change N	Change (%)
Non-food retail	13	13	0	0.0%	60	60	0	0.0%
Convenience	0	0	0	0.0%	10	12	2	2.0%
Retail services	3	3	0	0.0%	13	12	-1	-1.0%
Leisure services	7	6	-1	-3.7%	6	4	-2	-2.0%
Financial and business services	4	6	2	7.4%	9	11	2	2.0%
Total	27	28	1	3.7%	98	99	1	1.0%

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in May and June 2014

To summarise, there are no major differences in the total count in all categories. Firstly, there are no differences in the category of non-food retail. A high rotation rate is visible in clothing and furniture stores, a decline in jewellery stores and a growth in cell phone stores. Secondly, there have been no significant changes in convenience and retail services. Thirdly,

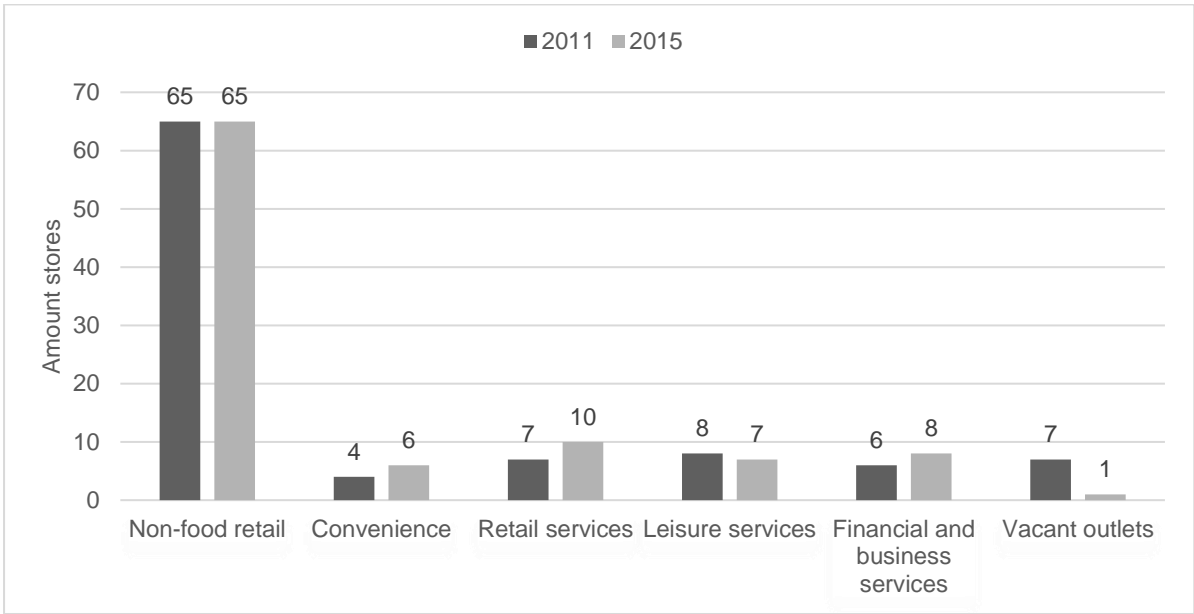
<sup>1</sup> A and B retail are based on the observed trademark relations and quality appearance of the store.

there has been a decline in leisure services, especially B retail fast food and restaurants show a decline, although high brands remain. Lastly, the biggest change is in the growth of financial and business services, where insurance, bank and especially loan services are more apparent.

The next section describes Paarl Mall and its retail changes in the last five years. Paarl Mall is located on the urban edge of Paarl, 5 km from Lady Grey Street, and therefore lies in the same sales range as Paarl's CBD, which means they could affect each other. In this sense, it is important to consider how both shopping areas have changed from 2010 to 2014.

#### **5.4.2 Paarl Mall**

To examine the shopping mall's performance in terms of its retail stock, an in-depth interview was conducted with the mall management in August 2014. Maps of the mall from 2011 provided the full store directory, which was compared to the present (2015) store directory. At first sight there were no major changes between 2011 and 2015 in absolute terms (Figure 5.4). Nevertheless, regarding the relative change by retail category there were retail transformations visible. Firstly, it became clear that Paarl Mall improved regarding the decline in vacant outlets in the five years; only one vacant outlet was left out of seven in 2011. In 2011, 90 outlets were allocated compared with 96 in 2015 (including kiosks), which is a growth of roughly 6.7%. This growth occurred within the categories of convenience, retail services and financial services. Only in leisure services was there a small decline of one store, and non-food retail remained on the same level, with 65 stores. Within non-food retail, some clothing stores left but new ones arrived. Some clothing store outlets are now used for other retail categories, such as financial services, and some have been replaced by other clothing brands, resulting in no growth or decline in non-food retail.



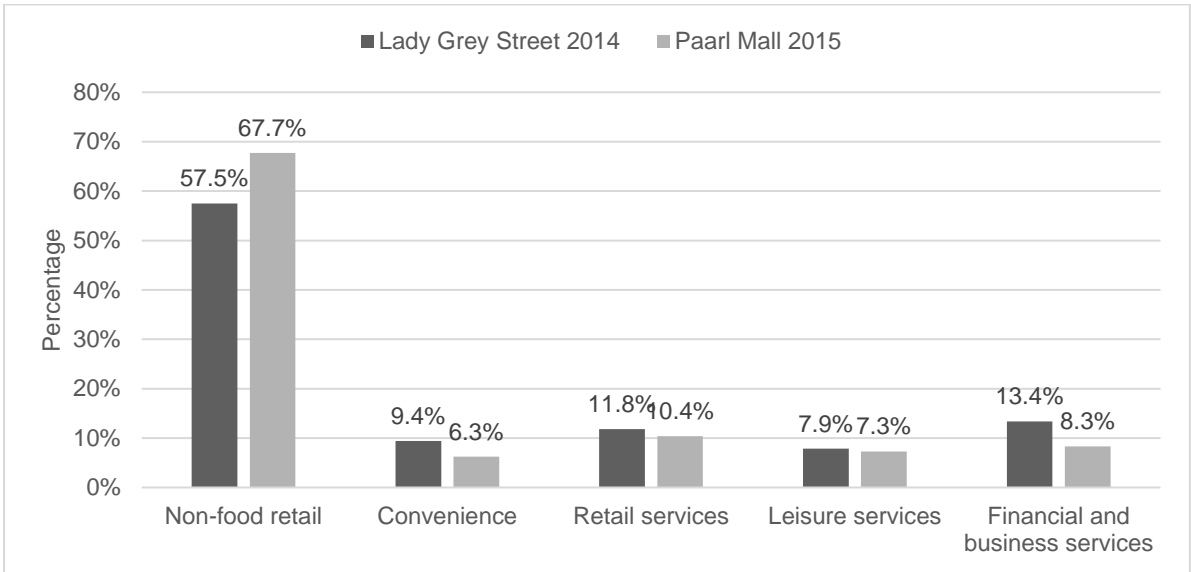
Source: Paarl Mall (2014, Pers com; 2015a)

Figure 5.4 Retail stock of Paarl Mall in 2011 and 2015

Secondly, the greatest relative growth was within the convenience category, from four to six stores, which was a high relative growth percentage of 50%. This was caused by the introduction of a liquor store and a specialised food store. Thirdly, retail services such as an optician and health and beauty stores appeared. Lastly, there was growth in financial services, which was caused by a new insurance service and a retail bank in the mall. Overall, there were no major retail transformations in the five years. Slight growth was observable in retail services in health and beauty, food convenience and financial services. Regarding the categorisation of retail quality, all the considered retail in the mall was categorised as A retail. While some major stores did not fill the condition of uniqueness, all of them fulfilled the conditions of quality, brand connection and tidiness. Thus, much more A retail is available in Paarl Mall than in the CBD of Paarl. This brings us to the differences between Lady Grey Street and Paarl Mall in their retail offering, which are discussed in the concluding section on retail transformation.

5.4.3 Comparison: The mall and the CBD

Both shopping areas have been discussed in the previous sections; this section compares both shopping areas in terms of their retail transformation. The findings have shown that Paarl Mall had a total growth in retail stores of 6.7% from 2011 to 2015, compared to a total growth of 1.6% for Lady Grey Street from 2010 to 2014. Further comparisons can be made in terms of retail category compilation of both shopping areas. Figure 5.5 shows the retail composition of Paarl Mall in 2015 and of Lady Grey Street in 2014.

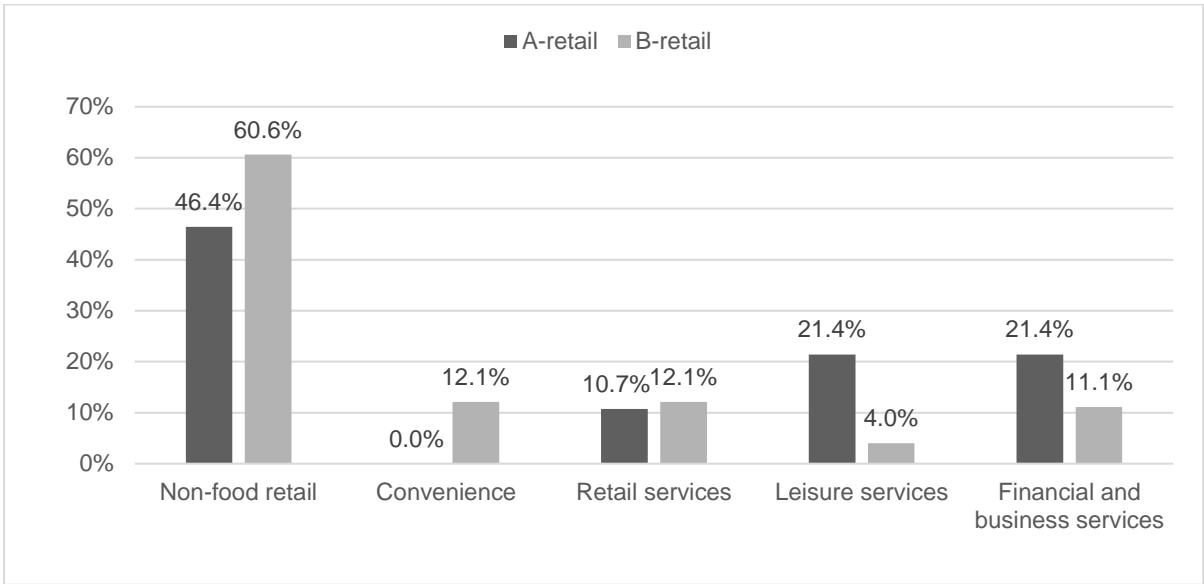


Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in May and June 2014; Paarl Mall (2015a)

Figure 5.5 Retail composition of both shopping areas

The greatest difference that is observable in Figure 5.5 is the increased appearance of non-food retail in the mall of 68%. Lady Grey Street, on the other hand, had a higher share of other retail and services after comparison, with a share of 58%. Comparison is the main retail category that contains all non-food goods such as toys, footwear, books, music, jewellery, watches, womenswear and menswear. The full list of all possible comparison retail is attached in Appendix A, adapted from Wrigley and Dolega (2011: 2363).

Regarding the results on retail quality, they firstly show that almost 60 stores out of 73 can be considered as B retail in Lady Grey Street, while Paarl Mall has only A retail, which is mostly brand related and comprises products of a high quality. Secondly, more retail services are available in Lady Grey Street, especially B retail, such as cemetery service, repairs, internet cafés and travel agencies. In relation to finance there also is a much bigger offering from banks, but especially loan services. Overall, it can be concluded that the appearance of B retail, with its offer of service, makes the difference between the two shopping locations. Whereas retail in Paarl Mall is all labelled as A retail, 78% of the retail in Lady Grey Street can be considered as B retail and, self-evidently, 22% as A retail. The most striking difference between these two in terms of retail category is illustrated in Figure 5.6, which shows A retail and B retail observed in 2014.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in May and June 2014

Figure 5.6 A and B retail composition of Lady Grey Street in 2014

It becomes clear that the available offering of A retail is less among non-food stores and more among retail services (Figure 5.6). Lady Grey Street has fewer quality product stores, such as jewellery, toys and clothing. On the other hand, the shopping street has relatively more retail services such as fast food restaurants, finance and general services like a post office.

To conclude, when comparing both shopping areas, it is evident that the CBD shopping street generally has a low quality offering with a high share of B retail. B retail is available among retail goods such as the supermarket, clothing and shoe stores. A retail has a limited offering of non-food goods and a higher offering of services such as finance and fast food restaurants. On the other hand, when looking at the B retail only, a full range of non-food goods stores and services is available, which is comparable to the retail composition of the mall. Paarl Mall, compared to Lady Grey Street, has a wide range of non-food stores and services and all stores are of relatively high quality, and/or are brand related.

The striking differences between the two shopping locations were also observed in the consumer preferences, with disadvantaged and advantaged consumers having different shopping preferences regarding the mall and the CBD of Paarl. The goal was to ask disadvantaged and advantaged consumers about their shopping preferences and why they preferred to shop and how often. The next section discusses the findings of the survey conducted in Paarl Mall and in Lady Grey Street.

## **5.5 Paarl consumer survey**

The main aim of the survey was to examine consumer preferences and experiences of the CBD of Paarl and Paarl Mall, and to find out what the differences were between the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. To do so, a demographic analysis firstly was done to show the demographic distribution of the surveyed population. In addition, the surveyed population was compared with the census population of 2011 to assess the bias arising from convenience sampling. Secondly, for the analysis, a descriptive profile was compiled of the surveyed population in Paarl Mall and Lady Grey Street, based on distributions of age, gender, years of residence, neighbourhood, car ownership and means of transport. Thirdly, the surveyed population was divided into disadvantaged and advantaged consumers – this was determined by car ownership and the income level of the neighbourhood of residence in Paarl. Lastly, a descriptive comparison was done of both groups, followed by a statistical analysis, to compare the answers on the variables and to find statistical significance between the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers in relation to their shopping experiences and preferences.

### **5.5.1 Demographic analysis**

The survey was conducted in two locations in Paarl, which were the same as for the retail street observations, namely Lady Grey Street and Paarl Mall. In total, 233 respondents were surveyed in Paarl and all were from the Paarl area. The demographics of the surveyed respondents are shown in Table 5.2, which indicates the percentages of the demographic variables and by shopping location.

Table 5.2 Consumer demographics of respondents and by survey location in Paarl

	Variables	All respondents	Paarl Mall	Lady Grey St	Statistics SA (2011b; 2013)
<b>Age groups (%)</b>	18-24	11.2	4.2	18.4	18.4
<b>(N = 232)</b>	25-44	50.4	48.3	52.7	45.7
	45-64	30.6	33.3	27.7	27.9
	≥ 65	7.8	14.2	0.9	8.0
<b>Gender (%)</b>	Female	60.9	57.5	64.6	50.6
<b>(N = 233)</b>	Male	39.1	42.5	35.4	49.3
<b>Years of residence (%)</b>	0-5	9.6	11.8	7.3	n/a
<b>(N = 229)</b>	6-10	5.2	5.0	5.5	
	≥ 11	85.2	83.2	87.3	
<b>Annual income (% based on ward profiles)</b>	R 0 – 42 000i	17.2	14.5	20.0	n/a
<b>(N = 227)</b>	R 42 001 – 360 000	67.8	64.1	71.8	
	≥ R 360 000	15.0	21.4	8.2	
<b>Do you own a car? (%)</b>	Yes	58.8	73.3	43.4	44.0
<b>(N = 233)</b>	No	41.2	26.7	56.6	56.0
<b>Means of transportation (%)</b>	Vehicle	59.7	80.0	38.1	n/a
<b>(N = 233)</b>	On foot	7.7	2.5	13.3	
	Public transport	31.3	16.7	46.9	
	Bicycle	1.3	0.8	1.8	

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015; Statistics South Africa (2011b; 2013)

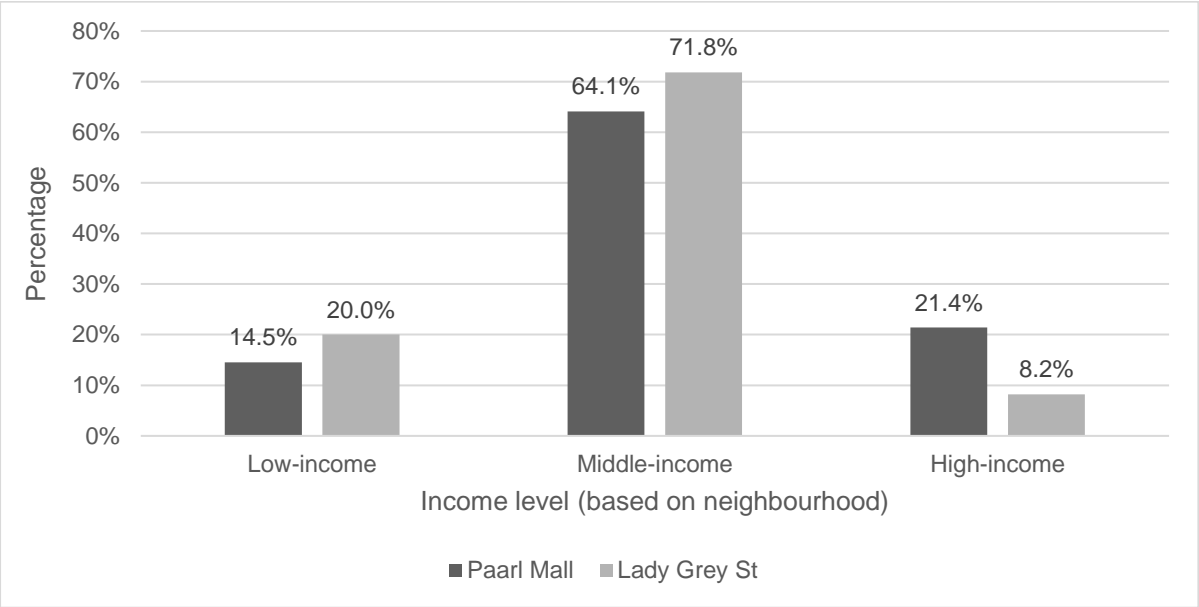
Note: n/a = not applicable

When comparing the survey with the available statistics from the census by Statistics South Africa (2011b), it is clear that the survey was not representative of the whole population of Paarl, as there was a significant difference in proportions of age groups, gender and car ownership. First, there generally was a low representation of young people between the ages of 18 and 24; secondly, there generally was a low representation of non-car owners; and thirdly, regarding gender, there generally was a low representation of males. However, although the surveyed population does not represent the average residents of Paarl, it shows the main characteristics of the consumers in Paarl Mall and Lady Grey Street. The differences between the two shopping locations are especially distinctive.

The results from the surveyed population led to the following findings regarding both shopping areas. First, Paarl Mall has a high representation of consumers who are 65 years and older – 14.2% compared to 0.9% in Lady Grey Street. Lady Grey Street, on the other hand, has a relatively high representation of 18 to 24 year olds (18.4%). Secondly, as illustrated in Figure



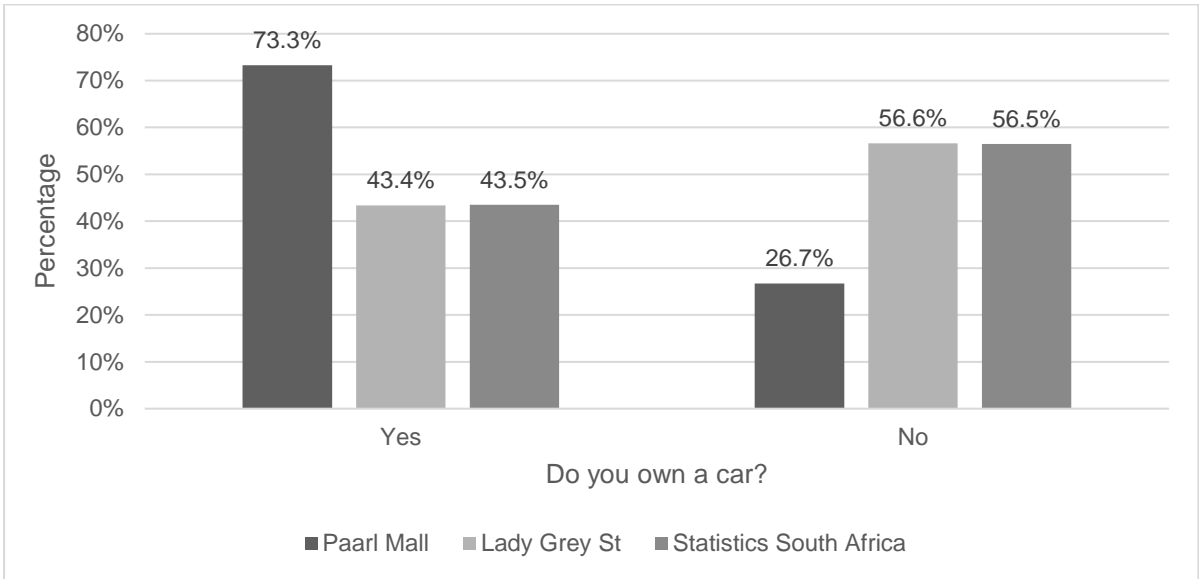
5.7, 21.4% of the surveyed respondents in Paarl Mall was from high-income neighbourhoods compared to 8.2% of the surveyed population in the Lady Grey Street. Middle-income consumers are slightly more apparent in the Lady Grey area, with 71.8% compared to 64.1% in Paarl Mall. Finally, consumers from low-income neighbourhoods were more apparent in Lady Grey Street; 20.0% were low-income consumers compared to 14.5% in Paarl Mall.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

Figure 5.7 Proportions of surveyed population by income level

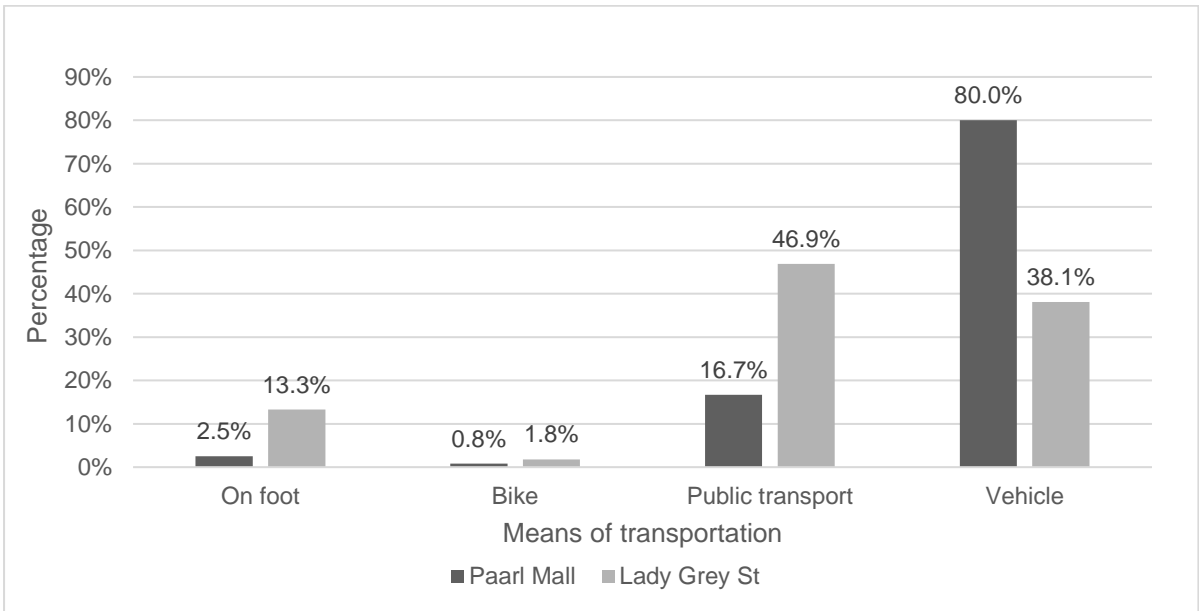
Thirdly, the most striking difference between the surveyed population of Paarl Mall and Lady Grey Street was in terms of car ownership. As presented in Figure 5.8, 43.4% of the consumers in Lady Grey Street own a car and 56.6% do not own a car, corresponding to the population statistics of Statistics South Africa (2013). Lady Grey Street differs considerably from Paarl Mall on car ownership – 73.3% of the surveyed consumers in Paarl Mall own a car and 26.7% of the consumers do not own a car.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015; Statistics South Africa (2013)

Figure 5.8 Proportions of surveyed population by car ownership

While these results indicate car ownership, they do not indicate whether the car is used by the respondents to go to the shopping areas. In addition, the respondents were asked about their means of transportation. The significant difference between Paarl Mall and Lady Grey Street on car ownership again is clear from Figure 5.9, in which almost all the surveyed respondents in Paarl Mall said they used the vehicle. In Lady Grey Street, most of the respondents used public transport, followed by those who use their vehicle and lastly by the 13.3% who go on foot.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

Figure 5.9 Proportions of surveyed population in terms of transportation

To conclude, the demographic analysis shows major differences between the consumers surveyed in Lady Grey Street and those surveyed in Paarl Mall. In short, two consumer profiles can be formed from the surveyed population, based on the variables shown in Table 5.2. The average consumer in Paarl's CBD is female, 25 to 44 years old, has lived in the Paarl area for more than 11 years, lives in a middle-income neighbourhood, while the majority do not own a car and use mainly public transport. On the other hand, the average consumer in Paarl Mall is female, 25 to 64 years old, has lived in the Paarl area for more than 11 years, lives in a middle-to high-income neighbourhood, owns a car, and mainly uses the vehicle.

Regarding the different outcomes from Paarl Mall and Lady Grey Street, it became interesting to discover what the shopping preferences and experiences are of the different consumers. The consumers therefore were divided into two groups, namely the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. The next section discusses the results of the second section of the survey, namely the answers from the shopping mall and CBD and the comparison of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers.

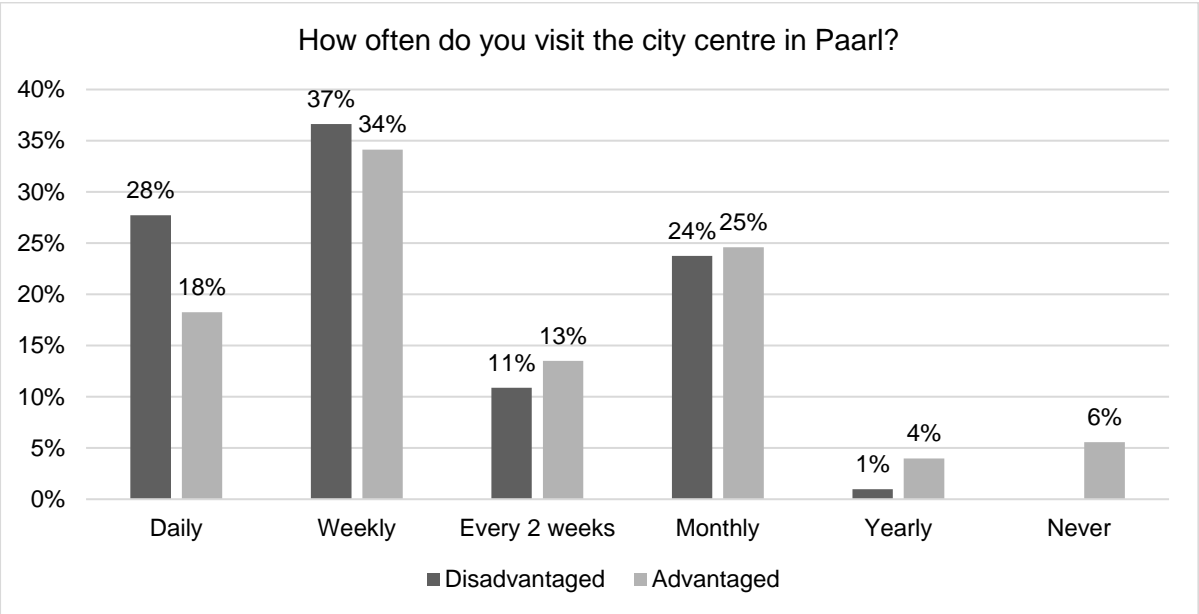
### **5.5.2 The disadvantaged and advantaged consumer: Where do they shop?**

This section describes the findings on the experiences and preferences of the surveyed population of the shopping mall and CBD in Paarl. The main goal was to compare the results from the disadvantaged<sup>2</sup> and advantaged consumers. Therefore, before the comparison was done, the two groups were selected on their ward's income level and car ownership. Regarding these conditions, 227 of the 233 respondents were categorised – 101 respondents (44.5%) as disadvantaged consumers and 126 respondents (55.5%) as advantaged consumers.

For the descriptive analysis of the shopping experiences and preferences, it first was interesting to look at the results on how often the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers visited the city centre and the shopping mall. The comparison is illustrated in Figure 5.10 and 5.11, in which the different proportions of these groups become clear. Firstly, disadvantaged consumers visited the city centre of Paarl slightly more – 27.7% on a daily basis compared to 18.3% of the advantaged consumers. The most striking difference was that 9.6% of the advantaged consumers visited the city centre of Paarl only once a year or never.

---

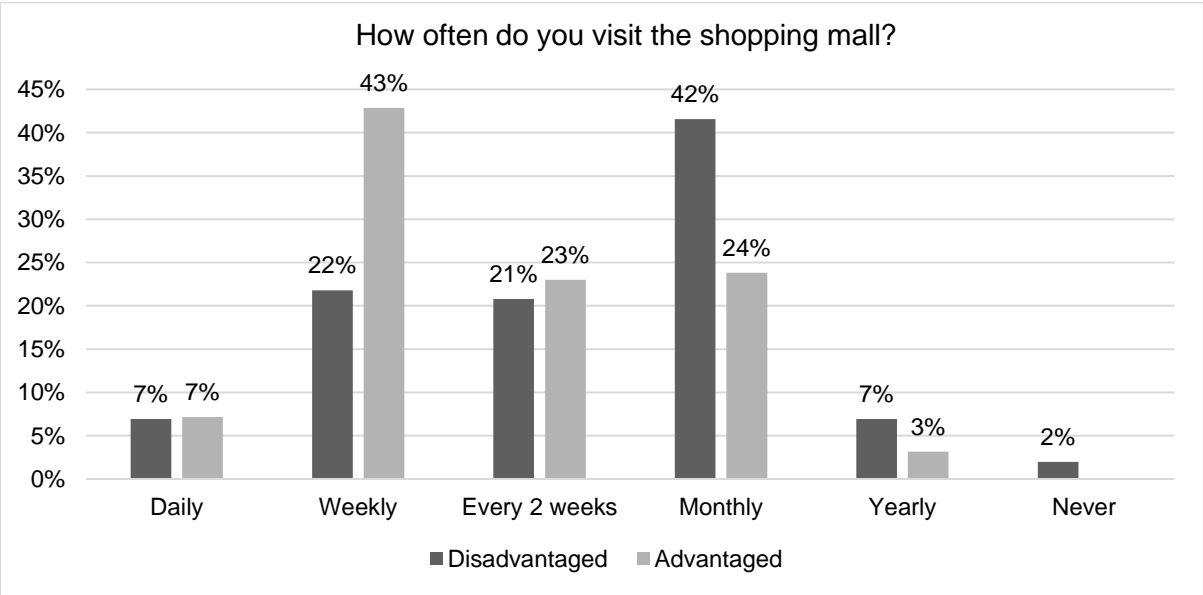
<sup>2</sup> A consumer was considered disadvantaged when he/she lived in a low-income neighbourhood or when he/she lived in a middle-income neighbourhood but did not own a car.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

Figure 5.10 Proportions of answers from disadvantaged and advantaged consumers on 'How often do you visit the city centre?'

Secondly, Figure 5.11 illustrates the results from how often the consumers visit the shopping mall. Here there are clearer differences to be found. The most striking difference was that the disadvantaged consumers visit the shopping mall mainly on a monthly basis, while the advantaged consumer visited the mall on a weekly basis. There also were more disadvantaged consumers (8.9%) saying they went to the mall once a year or never.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

Figure 5.11 Proportions of answers from disadvantaged and advantaged consumers on 'How often do you visit the shopping mall?'

Regarding both Figure 5.10 and 5.11, it is clear that the advantaged consumer with a car and from a middle- to high-income neighbourhood visits the mall much often than the city centre of Paarl. This is in contrast to the disadvantaged consumer, who uses the city centre more often than the shopping mall. The disadvantaged consumers probably go to the city centre for their daily needs rather than to the shopping mall, but there also were signs that many disadvantaged consumers go to their work in the city centre by public transport and then do their shopping in the same area. Therefore, an additional question was asked on which products the respondents buy from the shopping mall and the city centre. Table 5.3 and 5.4 show for which services and goods consumers go to the shopping mall and to the city centre. Table 5.3 shows the shopping habits of the advantaged consumer, and the grey fields show a preference of more than 50%. The advantaged consumer in Paarl clearly goes to the shopping mall for books, telephones, clothing, footwear and the supermarket. However, for repairs, furniture and fast food, the city centre is preferred more. Travel agents and financial services are positioned in the middle.

Table 5.3 Shopping preferences of the advantaged consumer in Paarl

Shopping goods and services	Shopping mall	City centre	Both
Books/stationery	78.4%	19.0%	2.6%
Telephones and accessories	77.2%	19.3%	3.5%
Clothing/footwear/accessories	74.1%	21.6%	4.3%
Toys, games and hobbies	69.6%	23.2%	7.1%
Supermarket	64.7%	33.6%	1.7%
Restaurants/cafes	60.3%	29.3%	10.3%
Travel agents	47.5%	50.5%	2.0%
Financial services or property services	41.2%	51.3%	7.6%
Fast food and take away	37.7%	54.4%	7.9%
Furniture, kitchen appliances and decoration	33.0%	63.4%	3.6%
Repairs and restoration services	18.6%	77.0%	4.4%

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

Table 5.4 shows the results on the disadvantaged consumer. The table immediately shows the moderate preferences for the shopping mall regarding books, clothing, footwear, toys and restaurants. The majority of the disadvantaged consumers still prefer the shopping mall, but not as strongly as do the advantaged consumers. The main difference is the higher preference for the city centre in terms of supermarkets, for which 52.6% of the disadvantaged consumers prefer the city centre, while only 33.6% of the advantaged consumers prefer the supermarkets in the city centre. For the other categories, the main preferences of both consumers were the

same. All other shopping goods and services, besides the supermarket, are categorised under the same shopping location for both sets of consumers. However, whereas the advantaged consumer more strongly prefers the shopping mall for books, clothing, footwear, telephones and toys, the disadvantaged consumer more strongly prefers the city centre for furniture, fast food, repairs and financial services. Especially the telephone category is much more preferred in the city centre.

Table 5.4 Shopping preferences of the disadvantaged consumer in Paarl

Shopping goods and services	Shopping mall	City centre	Both
Books/stationery	62.2%	36.7%	1.1%
Clothing/footwear/accessories	61.5%	35.4%	3.1%
Toys, games and hobbies	59.8%	40.2%	1.1%
Restaurants/cafes	57.9%	41.1%	1.1%
Telephones and accessories	55.3%	41.5%	3.2%
Supermarket	46.3%	52.6%	0.0%
Travel agents	34.5%	63.2%	0.0%
Financial services or property services	32.3%	62.4%	3.2%
Furniture, kitchen appliances and decoration	23.4%	75.5%	2.3%
Fast food and take away	21.5%	75.3%	0.0%
Repairs and restoration services	17.8%	82.2%	5.4%

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

To conclude, regarding the last findings on the visits and shopping goods and services preferences, the following findings can be summarised from the surveyed population: Firstly, the disadvantaged consumer visits the mall less than the advantaged consumer does. Whereas the advantaged consumer visits the shopping mall on a weekly or two-weekly basis, the disadvantaged consumer rather visits the mall on a monthly basis. This is confirmed by the information in Table 5.3 and 5.4, which shows that disadvantaged consumers visited the supermarket in the city centre more for daily products than the one in the shopping mall. However, it must be acknowledged that a large number of disadvantaged consumers also visit the shopping mall for non-food goods such as clothing, toys and books. Regarding the advantaged consumer, the shopping mall is preferred for non-food goods and the supermarket.

The next section describes the shopping experiences of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers in both locations, including their opinions on safety, convenience and offering in both shopping areas.

**5.5.3 Shopping experiences**

The previous section describes the results on demographics and the shopping preferences and visits to the shopping mall and city centre of Paarl by the two main groups of consumers – disadvantaged and advantaged. The next part of the questionnaire asked questions about the experiences of and opinions on both shopping locations. In this part, the respondents were asked to respond on a Likert scale on the extent to which he/she agreed with the presented claims about both shopping locations. The same claims were presented in relation to both shopping locations, such as ‘the shopping mall is a safe place’ and ‘the city centre is a place known for its friendly shopkeepers’.

Table 5.5 and 5.6 present an overview of all the presented claims and the proportions on a Likert scale. The grey fields represent the median of each Likert scale as answered by the advantaged and disadvantaged consumer respectively. In short, the median represents the middle line, which means that, when the median falls on ‘somewhat agree’, at least 50% chose ‘somewhat agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ in relation to the presented claim and 50% chose ‘neutral’, ‘somewhat disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’. From this it is possible to see the main opinions of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers on all listed issues.

Table 5.5 Results on shopping experiences on the city centre in Paarl

City Centre	Consumer	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree	Sig.
Is a place with a pleasant environment	Advantaged	27.8%	18.3%	22.2%	15.9%	15.9%	$p = .0005$
	Disadvantaged	14.0%	11.0%	16.0%	22.0%	37.0%	
Is an interesting place for shopping	Advantaged	20.0%	16.8%	21.6%	17.6%	24.0%	$p = .0005$
	Disadvantaged	5.0%	10.0%	17.0%	24.0%	44.0%	
Is a safe place	Advantaged	40.3%	21.0%	14.5%	13.7%	10.5%	$p = .084$
	Disadvantaged	32.0%	19.0%	18.0%	11.0%	20.0%	
Is a place with good accessibility	Advantaged	10.7%	5.7%	23.0%	23.0%	37.7%	$p = .003$
	Disadvantaged	4.0%	5.1%	14.1%	20.2%	56.6%	
Is a parking-friendly district	Advantaged	36.4%	14.9%	14.0%	17.4%	17.4%	$p = .0005$
	Disadvantaged	15.6%	11.5%	12.5%	13.5%	46.9%	
Is a clean place with interesting public spaces	Advantaged	36.1%	11.5%	21.3%	14.8%	16.4%	$p = .020$
	Disadvantaged	21.4%	14.3%	22.4%	15.3%	26.5%	
Is a district with a good assortment of retail offer	Advantaged	15.7%	8.3%	16.5%	26.4%	33.1%	$p = .001$
	Disadvantaged	8.2%	6.2%	10.3%	17.5%	57.7%	
Is a district with a good quality of retail	Advantaged	9.9%	13.2%	20.7%	28.9%	27.3%	$p = .0005$
	Disadvantaged	7.2%	8.2%	9.3%	20.6%	54.6%	
Is an interesting place to be in with family/friends	Advantaged	28.1%	10.7%	24.8%	16.5%	19.8%	$p = .0005$
	Disadvantaged	13.4%	4.1%	19.6%	18.6%	44.3%	
Is a place known for its friendly shopkeepers	Advantaged	10.3%	8.5%	24.8%	22.2%	34.2%	$p = .018$
	Disadvantaged	8.3%	10.4%	11.5%	15.6%	54.2%	
Is a place where I can find almost everything I need	Advantaged	18.2%	10.7%	16.5%	21.5%	33.1%	$p = .001$
	Disadvantaged	11.3%	3.1%	11.3%	18.6%	55.7%	
Is an interesting place to stroll around and window shop	Advantaged	32.0%	13.1%	11.5%	13.1%	30.3%	$p = .001$
	Disadvantaged	20.6%	2.1%	12.4%	13.4%	51.5%	

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

Firstly, the advantaged consumers had some clear standpoints regarding the city centre of Paarl. Mainly negative standpoints were held on the safety and parking-friendliness of the city centre. The advantaged consumers generally had a moderate standpoint towards the city centre, with five issues being perceived neutrally and five issues perceived as moderately positive (somewhat agree). Secondly, the disadvantaged consumers generally held a positive standpoint towards the city centre, with six issues being perceived positively. According to this group, the city centre is an interesting place to stroll around where you can find almost everything you need, along with a good quality of retail and is easily accessible. Four issues were perceived as moderately positive, namely that the city is pleasant, interesting for shopping, parking friendly, and interesting to be in with family and friends. However, regarding safety, the city centre is regarded negatively by disadvantaged consumers. Lastly, when comparing both consumers there is a clear difference in general standpoint towards the city centre. On many issues, the disadvantaged consumer has a moderately positive to very positive opinion, while the



advantaged consumer had a moderate view. The major differences were apparent in relation to parking friendliness and window-shopping, which were considered more negative by the advantaged consumer and more positive by the disadvantaged consumer. On the latter, 51.5% of the disadvantaged consumers answered strongly agree, while only 32.0% of the advantaged consumers answered strongly disagree.

The same analysis was done on the same issues on the shopping mall in Paarl. Table 5.6 presents the percentage proportions of the opinions of both groups of consumers on the shopping mall. The same representation was used, in which the median is marked by the grey field and 50% of the answers are left of the median and 50% are right of the median.

Table 5.6 Results on shopping experiences in the shopping mall in Paarl

Shopping Mall	Consumer	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree	Sig.
Is a place with a pleasant environment	Advantaged	5.6%	1.6%	20.6%	30.2%	42.1%	$p = .027$
	Disadvantaged	3.0%	4.0%	17.0%	15.0%	61.0%	
Is an interesting place for shopping	Advantaged	7.1%	6.3%	17.5%	23.8%	45.2%	$p = .009$
	Disadvantaged	4.0%	11.0%	6.0%	13.0%	66.0%	
Is a safe place	Advantaged	4.8%	12.7%	14.3%	23.0%	45.2%	$p = .067$
	Disadvantaged	4.0%	8.0%	16.0%	12.0%	60.0%	
Is a place with good accessibility	Advantaged	4.0%	4.0%	11.9%	21.4%	58.7%	$p = .716$
	Disadvantaged	9.0%	4.0%	9.0%	20.0%	58.0%	
Is a parking-friendly district	Advantaged	3.2%	6.3%	4.0%	16.7%	69.8%	$p = .600$
	Disadvantaged	2.1%	5.2%	6.2%	13.4%	73.2%	
Is a clean place with interesting public spaces	Advantaged	1.6%	2.4%	9.5%	18.3%	68.3%	$p = .028$
	Disadvantaged	5.0%	2.0%	4.0%	6.0%	83.0%	
Is a district with a good assortment of retail offer	Advantaged	8.0%	12.8%	13.6%	23.2%	42.4%	$p = .042$
	Disadvantaged	9.0%	8.0%	11.0%	12.0%	60.0%	
Is a district with a good quality of retail	Advantaged	6.3%	4.8%	9.5%	26.2%	53.2%	$p = .104$
	Disadvantaged	3.0%	4.0%	9.0%	20.0%	64.0%	
Is an interesting place to be in with family/friends	Advantaged	7.9%	4.8%	19.0%	22.2%	46.0%	$p = .051$
	Disadvantaged	9.0%	7.0%	8.0%	13.0%	63.0%	
Is a place known for its friendly shopkeepers	Advantaged	3.2%	3.2%	14.4%	31.2%	48.0%	$p = .150$
	Disadvantaged	4.0%	3.0%	12.0%	21.0%	60.0%	
Is a place where I can find almost everything I need	Advantaged	11.9%	14.3%	11.1%	24.6%	38.1%	$p = .640$
	Disadvantaged	13.0%	12.0%	13.0%	18.0%	44.0%	
Is an interesting place to stroll around and window shop	Advantaged	4.8%	9.5%	15.1%	19.8%	50.8%	$p = .001$
	Disadvantaged	5.0%	4.0%	7.0%	10.0%	74.0%	

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

On first sight, Table 5.6 shows a much more positive attitude towards the shopping mall compared to the attitude towards the city centre of Paarl. All issues are perceived moderately

positive to very positive by both the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. However, the advantaged consumers seem to be more critical of the shopping mall compared to the disadvantaged consumers. They especially had a more moderate attitude towards the safety of the mall, felt the mall was not so interesting, and perceived it as pleasant compared to the responses of the disadvantaged consumer. Both groups agreed that the mall was very accessible, parking-friendly, offered a good quality of retail and was clean, with interesting public spaces. The mall scored worst on the issue that you can find almost everything you need. Both the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers did not seem to get everything to satisfy their needs; 13.0% of the disadvantaged consumers did not even agree at all. Regarding the disadvantaged consumers, the mall was perceived highly positively on all issues, except for the moderately positive attitude towards offer, in which 38% did not agree or were neutral.

#### 5.5.3.1 Statistical analysis

To provide deeper insight into the different opinions of both groups of consumers, an additional statistical analysis was done to compare the answers of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. Table 5.5 and 5.6 provide a first indication of the real differences. However, further statistical analysis provided a complete assessment of the differences, which were not observable in the percentages available. Therefore, the goal was to find the statistical significance of their shopping experiences of both groups. The Mann-Whitney U test was used to compare each issue listed in Table 5.5 and 5.6 by comparing the medians of both groups or the mean ranks. This depended on the distribution of scores from both groups. In the end, the tests determined whether there was a significant difference on median scores or mean ranks of  $p < 0.05$  for all ordinal variables between the advantaged and disadvantaged consumers.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, Mann-Whitney U tests were run on all listed issues to determine if there were differences in shopping experience between the advantaged and disadvantaged consumers. In short, the results are presented in Table 5.7 with their significance  $p$  score, U score, distribution

---

<sup>3</sup> The goal of using the Mann-Whitney U test was to compare the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers and to find significant differences in their shopping preferences and experiences. Both groups were independently questioned on a Likert scale, which provided ordinal variables, and both groups were fully independently questioned from each other. For these conditions, a Mann-Whitney U test was chosen (Sheskin 2003). The Mann-Whitney U test compares the medians of groups or compares the mean ranks. Whether the mean ranks or the median should be tested depends on the distribution of scores of both groups, also referred to as ‘the shape’ (Lund Research 2013). When both scores of both independent variables have the same shape, as assessed by visual inspection, the median would be compared. If not, the mean rank would be compared. It is important to note that the statistical inference from mean ranks is less powerful than the inference obtained from the median.

and z-scores. At first sight it is immediately observable that both groups of consumers agreed on most issues about the shopping mall, while there was much disagreement about the city centre.

Table 5.7 Results of the statistical analysis

	Shopping Mall				City Centre			
	U	Sig.	Similar distr.	z	U	Sig.	Similar distr.	z
Is a place with a pleasant environment	5304	<b><math>p = .027</math></b>	yes	-2.210	4287.5	<b><math>p = .0005</math></b>	no	-4.215
Is an interesting place for shopping	5134	<b><math>p = .009</math></b>	yes	-2.623	4215.0	<b><math>p = .0005</math></b>	no	-4.318
Is a safe place	5467	$p = .067$	yes	-1.830	5395.0	$p = .084$	yes	-1.727
Is a place with good accessibility	6458	$p = .716$	yes	.364	4709.5	<b><math>p = .003</math></b>	yes	-2.991
Is a parking-friendly district	5911.50	$p = .600$	yes	-.525	3721.0	<b><math>p = .0005</math></b>	no	-4.678
Is a clean place with interesting public spaces	5484	<b><math>p = .028</math></b>	yes	-2.196	4911.0	<b><math>p = .020</math></b>	no	-2.334
Is a district with a good assortment of retail offer	5331.50	<b><math>p = .042</math></b>	yes	-2.037	4336.0	<b><math>p = .001</math></b>	yes	-3.425
Is a district with a good quality of retail	5594	$p = .104$	yes	-1.626	4222.0	<b><math>p = .0005</math></b>	yes	-3.716
Is an interesting place to be in with family/friends	5427	$p = .051$	yes	-1.955	3923.0	<b><math>p = .0005</math></b>	no	-4.327
Is a place known for its friendly shopkeepers	5614.50	$p = .150$	yes	-1.440	4608.5	$p = .018$	yes	-2.368
Is a place where I can find almost everything I need	6081.50	$p = .640$	yes	-.468	4357.5	<b><math>p = .001</math></b>	yes	-3.432
Is an interesting place to stroll around and window shop	4893.50	<b><math>p = .001</math></b>	yes	-3.290	4430.0	<b><math>p = .001</math></b>	yes	-3.341

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

Regarding the city centre, the distributions of the shopping experiences of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers were not similar, as assessed by visual inspection of the columns of similar distribution saying yes or no (Table 5.7). For the variables without a similar distribution, the mean ranks were compared, which is less powerful as far as statistical inference is concerned.

Regarding the city centre on the same issues of pleasantness, interesting for shopping, and being with family and friends, it is clear that the advantaged consumer experienced the city centre as moderate to negative, while the disadvantaged consumer was significantly more positive. The mean rank score on pleasant environment was statistically higher among the disadvantaged consumers (somewhat agree, mean rank = 133.62) than among the advantaged

consumers (neutral, mean rank = 97,53),  $U = 4287.50$ ,  $z = -4.215$ ,  $p = .0005$ . For most scores there was a statistically significant difference of scores or medians; however, only two issues were not statistically significantly different. These were safety and the friendliness of shopkeepers. For safety, the median score between the disadvantaged (somewhat disagree) and advantaged consumers (somewhat disagree) was not significantly different,  $U = 5395$ ,  $z = -1.727$ ,  $p = .084$ , and the same was true for the friendliness of shopkeepers, with  $U = 4608.5$ ,  $z = -2.368$ ,  $p = .018$ .

The relatively extreme outcomes in relation to the city centre, which were statistically significantly different between the two groups of consumers, were in for interesting place for shopping, interesting to be with family and friends, and parking friendliness. The results were as follows: For interesting place for shopping, the score was significantly different between the disadvantaged consumer (somewhat agree) and the advantaged consumer (neutral),  $U = 4215$ ,  $z = -4.318$ ,  $p = .0005$ . On the issue whether the city centre is interesting to be with family and friends, the score was significantly different between the disadvantaged consumer (somewhat agree) and the advantaged consumer (neutral),  $U = 3923$ ,  $z = -4.327$ ,  $p = .0005$ . The last of the extremes was in relation to the parking friendliness of the city centre, which was perceived significantly differently by the disadvantaged consumer (somewhat agree) and the advantaged consumer (somewhat disagree),  $U = 3721$ ,  $z = -4.678$ ,  $p = .0005$ .

Concerning the shopping mall, it was quite clear that the advantaged consumer experienced the mall moderate to positively regarding the main issues that have to do with shopping, such as pleasant environment, interesting for shopping and a place to be with family and friends, but that the disadvantaged consumer experienced it significantly more positively. The disadvantaged consumers strongly agreed on most issues and the advantaged consumers generally somewhat agreed. However, the median score on pleasant environment was statistically significantly higher among the disadvantaged consumers (strongly agree) than the advantaged consumers (somewhat agree),  $U = 5304$ ,  $z = -2.210$ ,  $p = .027$ . The median scores on interesting place for shopping, clean, interesting public space, and a good assortment of retail offering were statistically higher among the disadvantaged consumers than the advantaged consumers. The relatively extreme median scores that were statistically significantly different between the disadvantaged consumers and advantaged consumers were in relation to an interesting place to stroll/window shop,  $U = 4893.50$ ,  $z = -3.290$ ,  $p = .001$ , and an interesting place for shopping,  $U = 5134$ ,  $z = -2.623$ ,  $p = .009$  (Table 5.7). For both issues, the disadvantaged consumer perceived the shopping mall significantly more positively than did the advantaged consumer.

Regarding the scores on the shopping mall and the city centre, it is quite clear that both groups of consumers had a different shopping experience at the different shopping locations. In the city centre in particular, the Mann-Whitney U test shows significant differences between the two groups of consumers. Most remarkable is that both groups of consumers agreed on safety – both somewhat disagreed that the city centre was safe and both agreed that the shopping mall was safe.

Regarding the shopping mall, the advantaged consumer was significantly less positive about the retail assortment, even though the median answer of the advantaged consumer was ‘somewhat agree’. On the question whether the consumer can get everything he/she needs, there was no significant difference between the groups, as the median for both was ‘somewhat agree’. Regarding the friendliness of shopkeepers there were no significant differences, even though the disadvantaged consumer strongly agreed and the advantaged consumer somewhat agreed. In the city centre, the advantage consumer was significantly less positive regarding retail quality, assortment and whether the consumer can get everything he/she needs. Regarding retail in the city centre, the disadvantaged consumer was generally satisfied and strongly agreed, while the advantaged consumer was statistically significantly less positive but mainly somewhat agreed.

## 5.6 Summary

When looking at the rise of Paarl Mall it is clear that the mall has become a success and has performed well in the last years. The direct impact of the construction of Paarl Mall was not visible in retail transformations in the street observations of the last five years. However, the municipality of Paarl, Paarl Mall and the shop owners in Lady Grey Street recognised and explained the relocation of retail from the shopping street and the closure of retail after Paarl Mall had been built. Concrete plans were mentioned by the municipality during the planning of Paarl Mall and in its policy of the last five years, but this did not change the neglect and downturn of Lady Grey Street, nor have there been signs of urban revival or resilience in the shopping street.

Regarding the findings of the retail transformation, what does the retail transformation of the last five years indicate? Firstly, Lady Grey Street showed a limited growth of 1.6% in retail offering in the last five years (between 2010 and 2014), while Paarl Mall showed stronger growth towards almost no vacancies. However, can the two shopping locations be compared? What became clear from the findings was the totally different offering of retail quality in the two shopping locations. Lady Grey Street has a large offering of stores, but is low-market orientated, whereas Paarl Mall only has middle- to high-market retail related to trademarks or

with a high-quality appearance. Again, when looking at the retail street observations of Lady Grey Street, 78% of the retail was considered as B retail and 22% is considered as A retail in 2014. B retail represents the large number of clothing, footwear, telephone and second-hand stores, and the small supermarkets that are located on Lady Grey Street which are on a totally different level of price, quality and market orientation compared to the retail offering of Paarl Mall. The present A retail that is located on Lady Grey Street has adapted to the low-market segment and has a different product offering compared to the same stores in Paarl Mall. Regarding the information from the municipality and the shop owners, Lady Grey Street has shown a decline in A retail since the finalisation of Paarl Mall in 2005. On the other hand, A retail stores have shown a stabilising phase in which no prominent stores have left the mall. The stabilisation was explained by both the municipality and shop owners. Paarl Mall is still growing and working on a new expansion this year and, according to the mall management, the prospects are positive for the near future. According to the mall management, further growth in retail is possible in the next years, as Paarl Mall seems to have benefited the most from the prospected growth compared to the city centre.

Secondly, regarding the retail situation of both shopping locations, in terms of which Lady Grey Street is generally oriented to the low-market segment and Paarl Mall to the middle- to high-market segment, both the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers and their preferences reflect the same striking differences of low to upmarket between Paarl Mall and Lady Grey Street.

Firstly, the disadvantaged consumer visits the mall on a monthly basis and the advantaged consumer rather on a weekly basis. For non-food goods such as clothing, books and footwear, both consumers prefer the shopping mall, although the advantaged consumer has a stronger preference for the shopping mall compared to the disadvantaged consumer. Both groups of consumers rather go to the city centre, but the disadvantaged consumer has a stronger preference to go there compared to the advantaged consumer.

Regarding the shopping experiences, both groups of consumers somewhat disagreed when they were told that the city centre was a safe place. On all issues that were presented, such as pleasant environment and interesting for shopping and window-shopping, the advantaged consumer perceived the city centre as statistically significantly less so than the disadvantaged consumer. In relation to the shopping mall, the disadvantaged consumer was very positive in general on all issues, considering the shopping mall as a highly preferred place, while the advantaged consumer was a bit more critical about the shopping mall but still moderately positive.

The retail offering seemed to relate to the preferences and experiences of advantaged and disadvantaged consumers. Experiences of pleasantness and safety tell us that the city centre is experienced as unsafe by both groups of consumers. Although it was experienced as somewhat pleasant by the disadvantaged consumer, it was experienced as much less pleasant by the advantaged consumer.

The same approach of conducting street observations and a consumer survey was followed in Stellenbosch, which can be compared to the results on Paarl. Chapter 6 discusses retail transformation and the survey of consumers in Stellenbosch, while Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter that compares the results from Paarl and Stellenbosch.





## **CHAPTER 6: STELLENBOSCH SURVEY**

Stellenbosch is a very different city compared to Paarl regarding its demographics, businesses and tourism industry. Stellenbosch has a much younger population because of the presence of Stellenbosch University. As in other university cities, this has a big influence on the city's urban patterns, the city centre and, most importantly for this research, the city's retail. Stellenbosch has decentralised since the 1970s through urban sprawl (Sustainability Institute, 2012), with features such as gated communities located far from important infrastructure nodes. As a result, congestion, pollution and high car dependency are among the daily problems of Stellenbosch.

This chapter discusses Stellenbosch and its main characteristics regarding its retail in the CBD and its decentralised shopping mall. Stellenbosch Square in Jamestown was selected as the decentralised shopping mall and was analysed in terms of its retail transformation in the last years. In the CBD, Bird Street and Church Street were chosen for the street observations. Lastly, consumers were surveyed in the CBD area of Stellenbosch to examine consumer shopping experiences and preferences regarding shopping malls and the CBD.

### **6.1 Introduction**

Although administratively separate, Stellenbosch can be considered as part of the metropolitan region of Cape Town. The municipality had 155 733 inhabitants in 2011, of which the city of Stellenbosch had an estimated 65 000 inhabitants (Stellenbosch Municipality 2010a; Statistics South Africa 2011a). The university in Stellenbosch has a major footprint in the city's identity, which is expressed in the leisure areas, student housing and big university buildings. Around 30 000 students were enrolled at Stellenbosch University in the year 2015 (Stellenbosch University 2015).

Stellenbosch also suffered from apartheid policy before 1994, with coloured communities being relocated from the city centre to suburbs such as Cloetesville and Idas Valley (Stellenbosch Municipality 2010a). In the northwest lies Kayamandi, which is a black African neighbourhood. In short, Stellenbosch can be divided into north and south, with the south and east of Stellenbosch being middle- to high-income neighbourhoods and the north and northwest being middle- to low-income neighbourhoods.

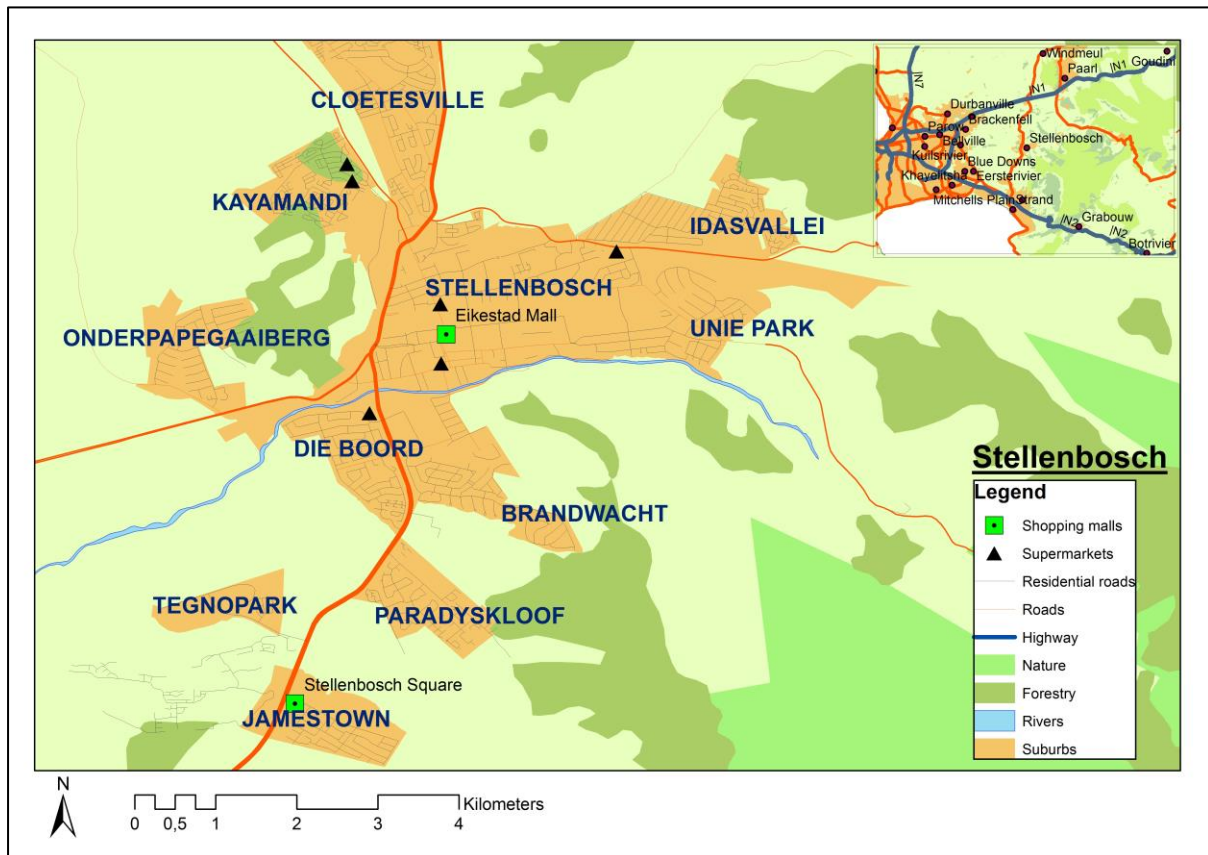


Figure 6.1 Study Area: Stellenbosch

Stellenbosch Square is clearly the only decentralised shopping mall in the area of Stellenbosch. The shopping mall is located in the neighbourhood of Jamestown (Figure 6.1). On the other side of the road, a relatively high-income residential golf estate was developed in the 2000s. The mall is also located near Technopark, which is a business park. Stellenbosch Square in Jamestown has the biggest offering of non-food goods. The conditions of leapfrogging development, main road connection and a high car dependency (no sufficient public transport available) created the perfect conditions for a shopping mall in the south of Stellenbosch, surrounded by new suburbs containing middle- to high-income neighbourhoods, and a connection to Somerset West to the south. However, was Stellenbosch Square a serious threat to retail in the CBD of Stellenbosch? The next section discusses both shopping locations and gives information on their background and developments in the last years in retail transformation.

## 6.2 Stellenbosch CBD

The city centre of Stellenbosch has a wide offering of retail and services for different age groups. Regarding retail, most of the stores are located in Bird Street and Church Street, with the highest concentration in the middle because of Eikestad Mall (Figure 6.1), located right on

Bird Street. Eikestad Mall is a three-storey concrete building that includes parking facilities and houses a full range of stores, from services, supermarkets, clothing, footwear, furniture and other non-food goods

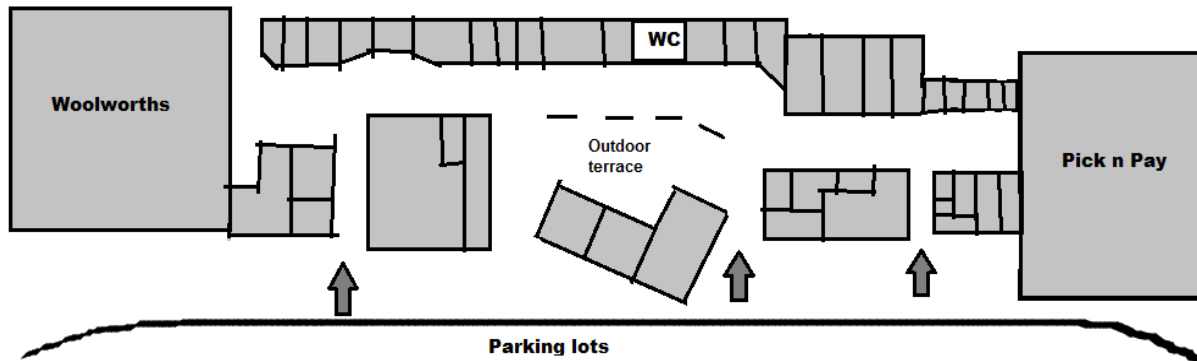
Regarding transport use, few pedestrian spaces are available outside Eikestad Mall and along paths towards the railway station and Kayamandi (Jones 2008). More revitalisation plans have been implemented in Church Street regarding pedestrian sidewalks, and more parking facilities were developed in Eikestad Mall (Smith 2009). However, parking is still an often-mentioned problem in the city centre and there is no sufficient public transport system (Stellenbosch Municipality 2013a). Commuters from low- to middle-income neighbourhoods mainly use minibus taxis or travel by foot, while middle- to high-income commuters use mainly private cars as transport (Stellenbosch Municipality 2013a).

Competition to the retail in the CBD came from Somerset Mall in Somerset West to the south, which has an offering of 67 000 m<sup>2</sup> of shopping area (Somerset Mall 2014), and was mentioned in 2001 as one of the causes of an apparent outflow of consumers from the CBD (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001c). In combination with parking problems, a lack of comparative shopping, especially for clothing, was mentioned by Stellenbosch Municipality (2001c). In 2004, a new shopping mall was developed on the outskirts of Stellenbosch to the south next to Jamestown (Figure 6.1) which brought some concerns. In *Die Burger*, Van Dyk (2004) emphasised the economic damage that could affect the city centre of Stellenbosch. Although there were signs of decentralisation, sprawl and congestion (*Saturday Argus* 2013; Donaldson 2014), which without a doubt had a negative impact on the city centre (Malan 2001), there have been no serious signs of deterioration in the city centre since the completion of Stellenbosch Square in 2004. Regarding retail, Eikestad Mall, for example has expanded over the last decade and has a big offering of parking facilities and, in combination with improved pedestrian routes and sidewalks (Smith 2009), the city centre has shown signs of resilience towards the surrounding shopping areas.

### **6.3 Stellenbosch Square in Jamestown**

The first plans for a new shopping mall on the edge of Stellenbosch at Jamestown were made in 2000. The application, from CK Rumboll and Partners, was submitted to the municipality on 2 June 2000 for rezoning the area at Jamestown from agriculture to commercial purposes. At the start of 2004, Stellenbosch Square had a size of 12 800 m<sup>2</sup> (*Eikestad Nuus* 2004), and it expanded with a new building project in 2015. The mall offers a range of stores, with two well-known supermarkets, and has approximately 50 retail units, which are occupied by clothing stores, a pharmacy and a café, and retail services such as a hair salon, optometrist

and several beauty stores. The mall is not air-conditioned, but the aisle is covered and has a permanent outside opening in the middle of the mall (Figure 6.2). The supermarkets are located on either end of the mall and the other retail offering is in the middle. In front of the mall there is a parking lot with space for approximately 800 cars (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001a).



Source: Author

Figure 6.2 Stellenbosch Square

Next to the retail centre, additional offices, a motor showroom and a petrol station have been added. The main motivation of the developer was that the retail centre would complement the already approved developments of the surrounding office park and golf course estate. According to the developer, the nearby community of Jamestown would benefit because of the close location and not being dependent on the CBD in the future. In addition, a number of 360 jobs were mentioned that would become available, which would be beneficial to the local community (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001a).

For further justification, an economic impact assessment was conducted by the developer to assess the impact on the CBD of Stellenbosch (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001a). The economic impact assessment was done by Multi-Purpose Business Solutions, and the introduction said that the conducted assessment was only related to the proposed commercial development. Any mention of the potential impact that this development may have on the CBD of Stellenbosch was not provided. The main outcome of this document by Multi-Purpose Business Solutions (2000) was the contribution to the economic growth of the so-called locality derived from the proposed retail development. Connections and agglomeration benefits on the Stellenbosch-Strand axis were mentioned. In short, the benefits were that 805 temporary jobs would be available and 472 to 588 new permanent job opportunities, resulting in a permanent multiplied increase in Gross Geographic Product (GGP) of R52.4 million (low scenario) to R65.4 million (high scenario) in the geographic Stellenbosch area. Lastly,

monetary benefits were calculated at R1.2 million for Stellenbosch Municipality during the first complete year of operations, and R28.9 million for central government revenues.

The application gave rise to discussions at different relevant government departments. Firstly, the Transport Branch of the Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism (DEAAT) of the provincial Western Cape Government did not approve the transport solution that was applied (Western Cape Government, DEAAT 2000). The main problems was in connection with the retail centre on the main R44 highway. Instead of two direct connections, it was reduced to one connection from the R44 for the final approval. Secondly, the planning department of the municipality had serious concerns regarding the effect on the CBD of Stellenbosch. More research on the economic impact on the CBD of Stellenbosch was done by Messrs Douglas Parker Associates in 2001. In this, the newly developed reports confirmed that 19% to 23% of consumer spending in the Jamestown retail centre would come from the CBD of Stellenbosch, and mainly from high-income groups (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001c). In addition, the planning department concluded that the new retail centre would aim mainly for the higher income groups and that the Jamestown community would be a secondary beneficiary (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001c). Therefore, the planning department concluded that the retail centre in question did not conform to the definition of desirability and recommended that Stellenbosch Council refuse the application (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001b). The same concerns were supported by the Transport Branch of DEAAT. However, in the end, the Council of Stellenbosch<sup>4</sup> found the application applicable and approved it, subject to a list of thirty-six conditions in total and sent as a recommendation to the final provincial authority (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001c).

The list of conditions that were provided by the municipality were striking. An example of one condition was:

That a list of new employees for the construction phase as well as permanent employees be provided to Council. An indication of the percentage of job opportunities for Jamestown residents must also be provided to Council (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001c: 53).

---

<sup>4</sup> In the year 2000/2001, the Council of Stellenbosch was dominated by the Democratic Alliance (DA), with 15 seats out of 35, and it “co-opted councillors from some of the smaller parties and political groupings (namely the Alliance For The Community, AFTC, the United Democratic Movement, UDM, and the African Christian Democratic Party, ACDP”, securing political control of the Municipality (Seethal 2005: 143). The ANC was the largest party in the opposition, with 14 seats out of 35. The coalition was dissolved in October 2002.

Another condition was to ensure the benefits to the local community regarding the firms that would be engaged in the project. Overall, promising conditions for the local community were listed by the Council of Stellenbosch. However, the Minister of Department of Planning, Local Government and Housing (DPLGH) of the Western Cape Government approved the rezoning application on 19 April 2002 and deleted six conditions, among others the one quoted above. One condition sustained was condition 20:

The applicant/developer must contribute 1% of the purchase price of all sales and re-sales of any alienable unit, upon registration of the unit, to be paid into a fund which will be administered by the Council and utilized to finance rehabilitation and development of the natural environment. This condition must be taken up in the Title Deed and any Deed of Sale of each unit (Stellenbosch Municipality 2001c: 53).

Research was done by the planning department in 2013 to determine whether this condition had been fulfilled by the applicant and the Council, and concluded that the Council of Stellenbosch did not kept any records regarding the developments. Because the current staff were not employed at the time when the application was considered, it was difficult to investigate after thirteen years. The most recent report from 2013 explained that an investigation still was going on to assess the status of the trust fund that was agreed on in 2001 (Stellenbosch Municipality 2013b). Another issue was the plan developed in 2002 for a taxi rank next to Stellenbosch Square, which would make Stellenbosch Square more accessible by other income groups. However, concrete plans to construct the taxi rank were not developed and, until today, no taxi rank has been built (Stellenbosch Municipality 2010b).

On 23 September 2004, the new shopping mall was opened, with two supermarkets and fifty upmarket shops (*Eikestad Nuus* 2004). Whether Stellenbosch Square at Jamestown had an impact on the CBD could possibly be answered from observations of the retail street. Regarding the profiles of the CBD and Stellenbosch Square, it was interesting to discover how both shopping areas had developed in terms of their retail stock in the last five years. Therefore, the next section elaborates on the street observations that were done in May 2014 and April 2015 in both shopping locations.

#### **6.4 Findings on retail transformation**

To examine the retail transformation in the city centre of Stellenbosch and Stellenbosch Square, retail was observed and categorised in both shopping locations. Firstly, retail observations were done of Bird Street and Church Street in the CBD, using Google street view



images from 2009 and physical street observations in May 2014. Secondly, to assess the retail transformation in Stellenbosch Square, an in-depth interview was conducted with the mall management and another in-depth interview with a shop owner in Stellenbosch Square in April 2015. Regarding Stellenbosch Square, an accurate assessment was not possible due to limited information that could be provided by the mall management and the shop owner. However, there were enough indications of the trends in the retail transformation in the last five years.

#### 6.4.1 Bird Street and Church Street: Strong growth

In the city centre, Bird and Church Streets were chosen for the street observations (Figure 6.3). Both streets are within the CBD of Stellenbosch, with Bird Street also being used as a main road for cars to cross the city centre of Stellenbosch from south to north. Bird Street has a marketplace where fruit, vegetables and other products such as watches and cell phones are on sale. In the middle, Bird Street is adjoined by a relatively newly expanded Eikestad Mall. Next to the marketplace there is a taxi rank where minibuse taxis stop and go. The other retail street, Church Street, is a side street of Bird Street, with a church located at the end of the street. Church Street, as shown on Figure 6.3, is a smaller and shorter one-way street and therefore less car traffic is apparent. At first sight, Church Street has a much larger offering of restaurants and upmarket souvenir shops, which are aimed especially at tourists. The street has cafés, ice-cream parlours, galleries and many souvenir stores. Bird Street, on the other hand, has convenience and furniture shops, and much more aimed at the residents of Stellenbosch.



Source: Google (2015a)

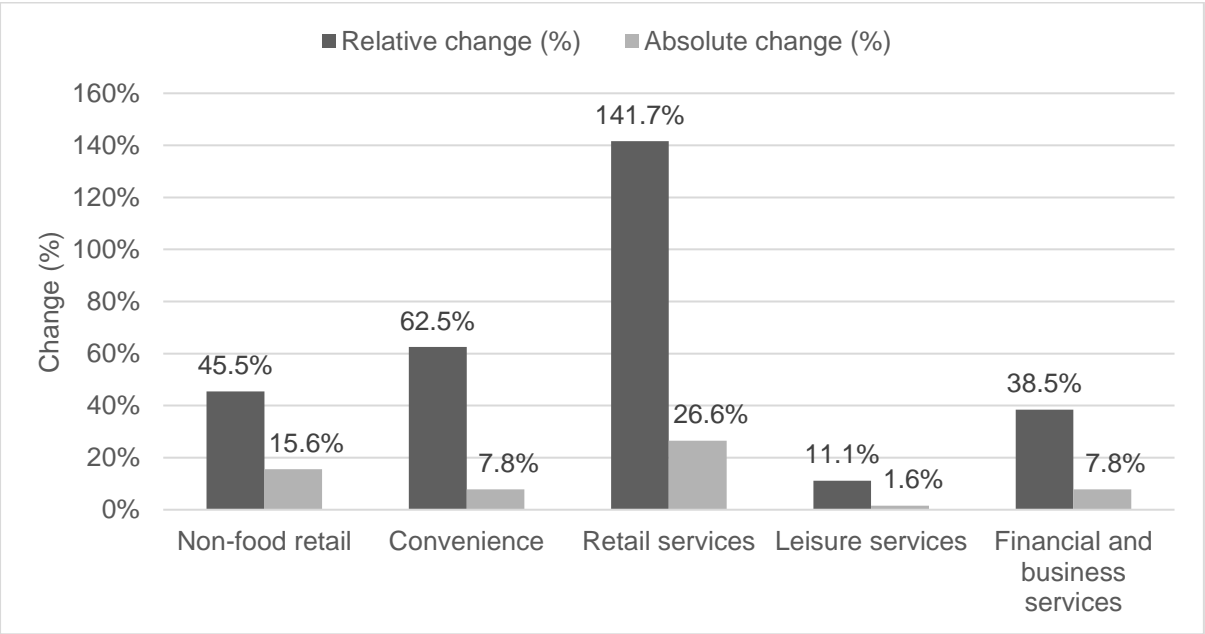
Figure 6.3 Street view images of Bird Street (left) and Church Street (right) in Stellenbosch

From the Google (2015a) street view images of October 2009 and the street observations in 2014 it is clear that there was strong growth in those five years. The total retail growth in Bird Street was 59.4% from 2009 to 2014 – from 64 retail units to 102 retail units. Figure 6.4 shows the relative change within each retail category and the absolute percentage change of the total

retail growth in each retail category. Firstly, the strongest growth in absolute and relative terms was in retail services, which showed a 26.6% absolute retail growth. When looking further at the observations, it is clear that retail services such as hair salons, car rental, travel agencies, car services, laundry services, plumbing and building industry services also appeared in Bird Street. Especially at the northern end of Bird Street there are many more car and building industry services than in October 2009.

In comparison, there was absolute growth of 14.1% in non-food retail. A new jewellery shop and a bigger offering of furniture shops were the main causes of this growth. Regarding non-food stores, it is remarkable that it is not necessarily well-known South African brands moving to Bird Street, but rather a growing offering of small to medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), which are not necessarily related to trademarks or retail brands.

This was also visible regarding convenience shops. In this category, five more shops are apparent in the shopping street, which is an absolute growth of 7.8%. The five shops that opened in Bird Street are a bakery, economic supermarkets and butcher shops. Furthermore, one more shop became available (1.6%) in leisure services and there was growth of 7.8% in financial and business services. A pub and pie shop were added to leisure services, and in terms of financial services there are many more property services and lending services; in total, eighteen more shops were available in the financial sector in 2014, with nine of them being not banks but lending services.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in May and June 2014

Figure 6.4 Relative and absolute change in retail in Bird Street from 2009 to 2014 by retail category



While the previous results show the strong overall growth of 59.4% in retail units in Bird Street, especially in retail services, there also is information about whether the growth was concentrated in the upmarket or lower market classes. Stores were labelled as A retail or B retail based on trademark or retail brand and the observed appearance of the stores’ quality. In 2009, 39.1% of the retail in Bird Street was considered as A retail and 60.9% as B retail. In 2014, the divide showed a big change, with 49% of the shops considered as A retail and 51% as B retail. This does not mean that there was a decline in B retail, but A retail showed much stronger growth. In those five years, 25 more retail units appeared related to a trademark or that were of a high-quality appearance, such as new high-quality clothing shops, a crystal glass store and a jewellery shop, but there also were new travel agents and car repairs and dealers. Within B retail, the 39 stores in 2009 increased to 52 stores in 2014, resulting in a growth of 33.3%. B retail shows the strongest growth in convenience shops and in retail services such as economic supermarkets, laundry services and repair stores.

Table 6.1 Retail change in Bird Street from 2009 to 2014 per category

Retail category	A retail				B retail			
	2009	2014	Change N	Change (%)	2009	2014	Change N	Change (%)
Non-food retail	7	15	8	32.0	15	16	1	2.6
Convenience	0	1	1	4.0	8	12	4	10.3
Retail services	8	20	12	48.0	4	9	5	12.8
Leisure services	5	6	1	4.0	4	5	1	2.6
Financial and business services	5	8	3	12.0	8	10	2	5.1
Total	25	50	25	100.0	39	52	13	33.3

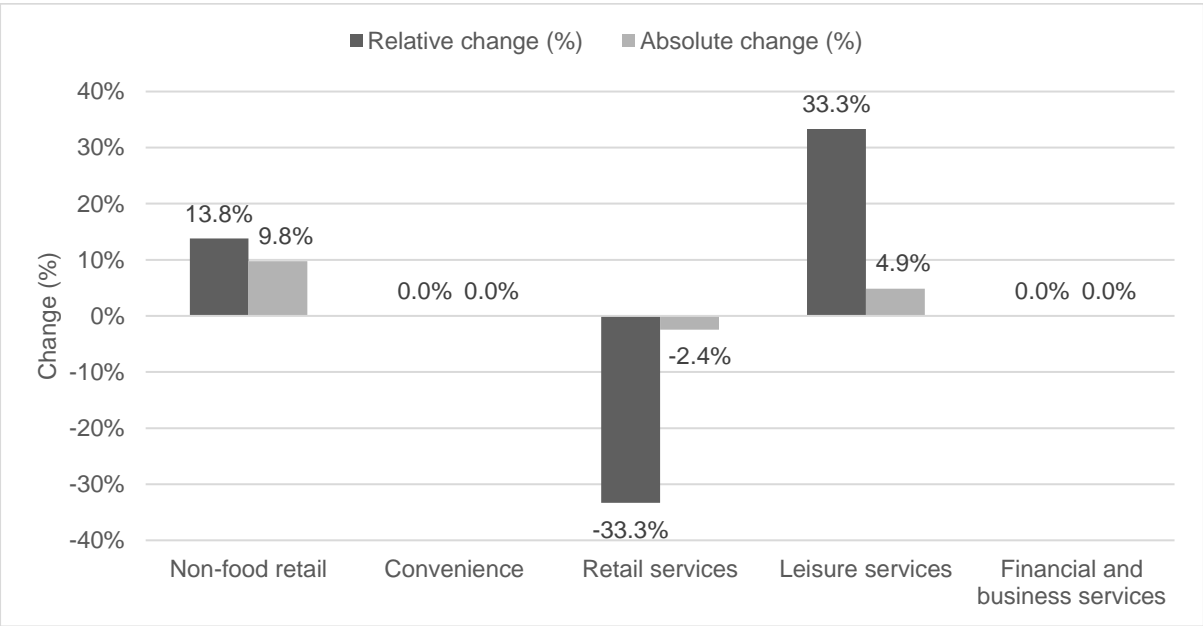
Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in May and June 2014

To summarise, Bird Street showed strong growth in the five-year period from 2009 to 2014, especially in terms of A retail in non-food retail and retail services, and B retail showed a moderate to strong growth in convenience shops and retail services. Overall, the share of A retail/B retail changed from 40/60 to 50/50, hence it can be concluded that Bird Street has transformed in to more upmarket area. In total, the offering of shops has shown strong growth – of 59.4% – in Bird Street.

Church Street, on the other hand, shows a very different offering and growth compared to Bird Street. These differences are clear from the street observations of 2009 from Google (2015a) street view images and the street observations in 2014. Firstly, regarding retail quality, all the retail units in Church Street are regarded as A retail based on their quality appearance.

There many souvenir and jewellery shops, restaurants, a few guesthouses and an ice-cream parlour that form a touristic offering in the street.

From the street observations it is clear that Church Street has added five shops, increasing from 41 to 46 retail units and resulting in a growth of 12.2%. However, compared to the retail change in Bird Street, this growth can be considered as moderate. The main changes, as illustrated in Figure 6.5, are in the non-food retail category, which showed increased by five retail units, resulting in a total growth of 9.8% and a growth of 13.8% within non-food retail. A loss of one retail service, which was a tourist information centre, out of three caused the high outcome of -33.3%, but this translates to a loss of only -2.4% regarding the whole retail street. Furthermore, two more retail units in leisure appeared – a chocolate shop and a restaurant.



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in May and June 2014

Figure 6.5 Relative and absolute retail change in Church Street from 2009 to 2014 by retail category

The strongest change was the growth in non-food retail; in particular, there are more art galleries and clothing shops in Church Street, which caused this growth. To summarise, Church Street as a tourist street is confirmed in the street observations, as the street offers a high share of non-food retail and a moderate growth in leisure services.

To summarise, in both shopping streets (Table 6.2) the total growth in retail units in the CBD (Bird Street and Church Street combined) showed a growth of 41%, with a retail unit growth of 43 retail units, from 105 to 148, in total in the period 2009 to 2014. As Table 6.2 shows, the growth is observable in all retail categories, with the strongest growth being visible in non-food goods shops and retail services in both quality categories of A and B retail. Non-

food goods, shops such as clothing, footwear, computers, souvenirs, art and ceramics, comprise the biggest share of 51 retail units, which grew to 65 retail units in 2014, resulting in a growth of 27.5%.

Table 6.2 Results of retail observations of Bird Street and Church Street combined, 2009 to 2014

Retail category	N 2009	N 2014	Relative change (%)	Change N	Absolute change (%)
Non-food retail	51	65	27.5	14	13.3
Convenience	8	13	62.5	5	4.8
Retail services	15	31	106.7	16	15.2
Leisure services	15	18	20.0	3	2.9
Financial and business services	16	21	31.3	5	4.8
Total	105	148	41.0	43	41.0

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in May and June 2014

The positive numbers are most remarkable when considering that the expansion of Eikestad Mall in Bird Street is not incorporated in the street observations. Whether the same growth could be observed in Stellenbosch Square, the decentralised shopping mall, located four kilometres outside the Stellenbosch CBD, is explained in the next section. But first the present observations are discussed along with the gathered information to provide an image of Stellenbosch Square for the same period (2009 to 2014).

6.4.2 Stellenbosch Square: A downward trend

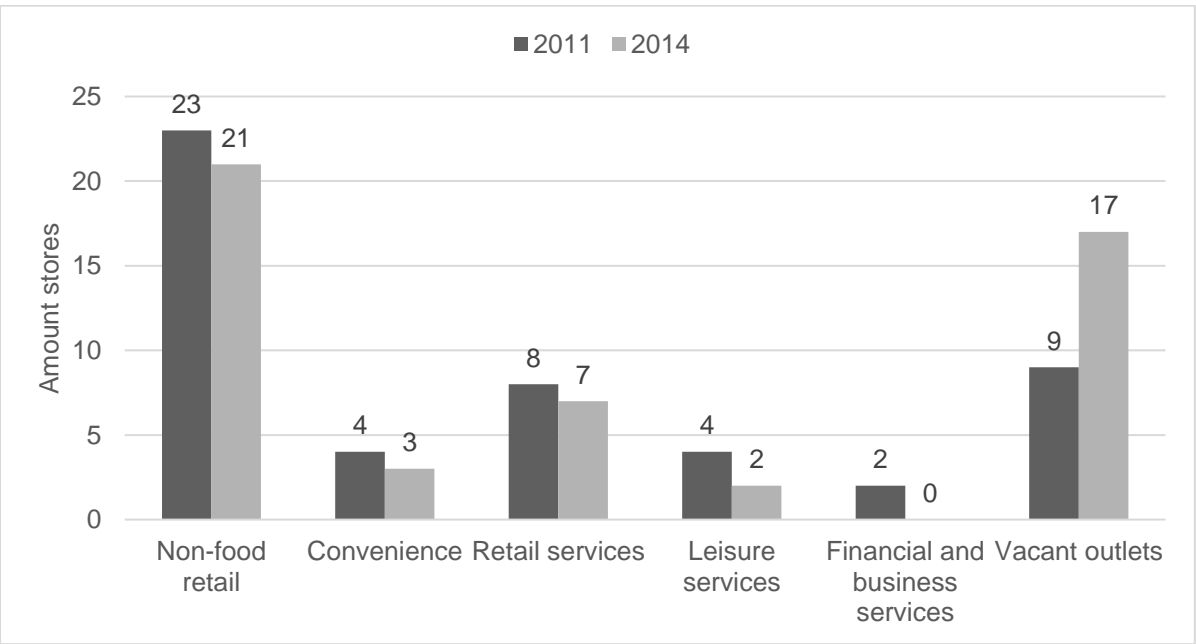
To examine the shopping mall’s performance in terms of its retail stock in the last five years, an in-depth interview was conducted with the mall management in July 2014 and with a shop owner in Stellenbosch Square in April 2015. Secondly, to compare this information with the current situation, the mall’s retail stock was observed in August 2014. Thirdly, old and current maps of the mall and store directories were gathered to provide a better understanding of the retail stock in the last five years.

First, it was clear that the mall had many vacant retail units in 2014. The mall management unfortunately did not want to provide the retail information of the last five years for verification, but did explain that there had been a decline in stores, especially among branded stores, restaurants and one bank that relocated (Stellenbosch Square 2014, Pers com). A shop owner of Stellenbosch Square confirmed the decrease in stores and explained the bad performance in 2015 (Shop owner Stellenbosch Square 2015, Pers com). Apparently, Stellenbosch Square is losing the competition with the CBD of Stellenbosch and Somerset

West. The mall management confirmed that the mall was competing with the CBD of Stellenbosch (Stellenbosch Square 2014, Pers com).

The information gathered from the mall maps and store directories confirmed the bad performance of Stellenbosch Square. The mall has space for two big supermarkets and fifty retail units. The oldest store directory that was available was from November 2011, which is the anchor point to compare the situation in August 2014. The results are illustrated in Figure 6.6, which shows the retail count of Stellenbosch Square in 2011 and 2014. The shopping mall showed a decline between 2011 and 2014 of eight retail units, from a total of 41 allocated retail units in 2011 to 33 in 2014, resulting in a decline of -19.5%. In 2011, nine retail units were vacant, which is a vacancy rate of 17.3%, and this increased to seventeen vacant units in 2014, which is a vacancy rate of 32.7%.

Second, regarding the retail categories, the mall has declined on a wide level in which each category has lost one or two retail units. As confirmed by the mall management (Stellenbosch Square 2014, Pers com), the mall offers no financial and business services, which originally were offered by Standard Bank and a property service in 2011. In total, two restaurants, a clothing store, a photography store, retail services such as a dentist, health/beauty salon, a hair salon, a property service and a bank have disappeared from the mall. The most striking decrease is in the loss of financial services in the mall, which limits the diverse offering that a shopping location needs. Therefore, customers have to rely on other shopping locations for financial services than Stellenbosch Square.



Source: Stellenbosch Square (2011); Author, fieldwork conducted in August 2014

Figure 6.6 Retail stock of Stellenbosch Square in 2011 and 2014

Third, regarding the categorisation of retail quality, all retail in the mall was categorised as A retail. While some shops did not fulfil the condition of uniqueness, all of them fulfilled the conditions of product quality, branding and tidiness. To sum up, Stellenbosch Square experienced a decline in stores in all retail categories in the period of 2011 to 2014, with an increasing vacancy rate and an offering without financial and business services. The expectations of the mall management are high for the near future: Despite the decline, new investments have been made and Stellenbosch Square recently started developing an expansion located at the front of the mall (Dorpstraat PKEF 2015).

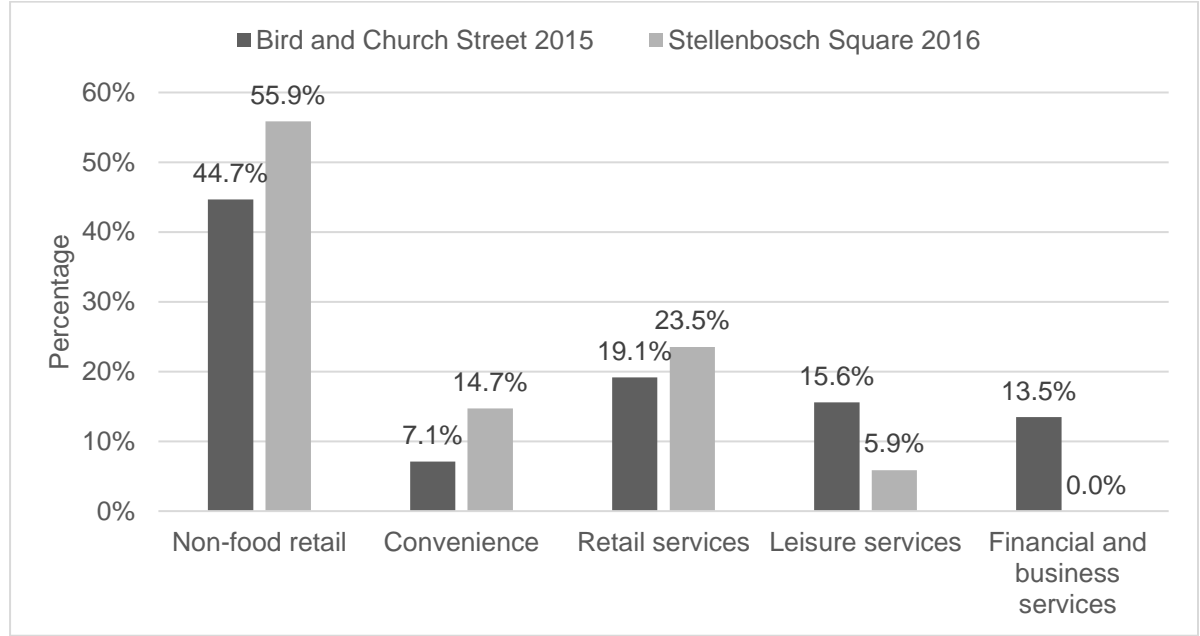
The downturn of Stellenbosch Square could be considered as remarkable. The mall is located next to the R44 highway from Stellenbosch to Somerset West and it probably has less congestion problems compared to the CBD of Stellenbosch. The mall is easily accessible, with a large amount of space for parking and an offering of two supermarkets and a possibility to offer fifty upmarket retail stores. However, Stellenbosch Square has not become a fully used shopping mall because of its vacant outlets. When comparing the results from Bird Street and Church Street in the CBD and those from Stellenbosch Square, two different trends clearly are observable, with the CBD trending upwards and Stellenbosch Square downwards. The next section elaborates further on the different results from the CBD and Stellenbosch Square.

### **6.4.3 Comparison: Stellenbosch Square and the CBD**

The shopping streets in Stellenbosch – Bird Street and Church Street, and Stellenbosch Square near Jamestown have been discussed in the previous sections in relation to their retail performance. There is a remarkably difference in the retail transformation in the two shopping areas when looking at the results of the two locations. In absolute numbers it is clear that the CBD has a much larger retail offering, with 148 retail units available in the shopping streets compared to 33 in Stellenbosch Square in 2014. Furthermore, the shopping streets in the CBD have enhanced their share of retail units with regard to the retail transformations of the last five years. The findings show that Stellenbosch Square experienced a total decline in retail stores of -19.5% from 2011 to 2014, compared to a total growth of 41% in Bird Street and Church Street.

The two shopping locations differ in their retail offering. First, a comparison can be made in terms of the retail categories in the shopping areas. Figure 6.7 shows the retail category composition of both shopping locations. The main differences are in leisure services, in which there is less of an offering in Stellenbosch Square, in restaurants and cafés, and in financial and business services (referring to banks and property), of which there is no offering in the mall.

Figure 6.7 further shows a large share of non-food retail in Stellenbosch Square; however, this has mostly to do with the small offering of other retail categories in the mall. In absolute numbers, the CBD still has a large offering of non-food goods, namely 65 shops in Bird and Church Street compared to 21 shops in Stellenbosch Square (see Appendix A for a full list of retail possibilities).



Source: Google street view images (2015a) and Stellenbosch Square (2016)

Figure 6.7 Retail composition of the shopping streets in the CBD and Stellenbosch Square

Second, regarding retail quality, 100% of the available retail in Stellenbosch Square is considered as A retail, with all stores being more or less upmarket oriented and fulfilling at least three out of four of the conditions based on product quality, tidiness, uniqueness and brand relation. Bird and Church Streets, on the other hand, have a much larger share of B retail – 51% of the available retail is B retail. However, regarding the retail transformations in the shopping streets in the last five years, the share of B retail has declined and strong growth of A retail was apparent turning, with share of A to B retail changing from 40/60 to 50/50.

To sum up, it becomes clear that the shopping streets in Stellenbosch that were investigated have shown strong growth, while the decentralised mall has shown a decline and an increasing vacancy rate. The CBD of Stellenbosch improved not only in absolute terms but also in quality, with the growing availability of more upmarket A retail in 2014 compared to 2009. The next section explains the results derived from the consumer survey that was conducted in Stellenbosch. Regarding the decline of the mall and the improvement in the CBD, it was interesting to find out consumer preferences regarding malls and shopping streets in the CBD.

Therefore, the next section describes the survey, which was conducted in the CBD of Stellenbosch with the aim to ask consumers, both disadvantaged and advantaged, what their preferred shopping locations are and why.

## **6.5 Consumer survey in the Stellenbosch CBD**

Church Street is a main side shopping street off Bird Street. Firstly, a demographic analysis was done of the surveyed population in Stellenbosch. In addition, the survey assessed to what extent the population was representative of the whole population. Secondly, a descriptive profile was formed from the surveyed population from the CBD of Stellenbosch based on distribution of age, gender, years of residence, neighbourhood, car ownership and means of transport. Thirdly, a full descriptive analysis was done of shopping preferences, visits and shopping experiences of the surveyed respondents, in which the shopping mall and the city centre were compared.

### **6.5.1 Demographic analysis**

In total, 113 respondents were surveyed in the CBD of Stellenbosch (Table 6.3), and this data was compared to the available statistics on Stellenbosch Municipality from Statistics South Africa (2011a). With this data, it was possible to compare the sample data in terms of age groups, car ownership and gender. First, in terms of age groups, the surveyed population from the CBD of Stellenbosch was more representative of the age groups 25 to 44 years – 55.8% of the surveyed population compared to 43.5% apparent in the whole population (Statistics South Africa 2011a). In terms of the other age groups, the surveyed population had a lower share of the age group 18 to 24, 45 to 64 and 65+. Regarding the census of 2011, the large share of 26.5% in the age group 18 to 24 arises from the presence of Stellenbosch University. Nevertheless, the surveyed population in Bird Street and Church Street showed a share of 16.8% from the age group of 18 to 24 years old, instead of the expected 26.5%. Second, in terms of gender there was a disproportionately larger share of females (62.8%) in the surveyed population compared to the 51.1% apparent in the population census from 2011. Third, in terms of car ownership, 38 respondents (33.6%) did not own a car and 75 respondents (66.4%) did own a car.

Table 6.3 Consumer demographics of the surveyed population in the CBD of Stellenbosch

	<b>Variables</b>	<b>Stellenbosch CBD</b>	<b>Statistics SA (2011; 2013)</b>
<b>Age groups (%)</b>	18–24	16.8	26.5
<b>(N = 113)</b>	25–44	55.8	43.5
	45–64	22.1	23.1
	65+	5.3	6.9
<b>Gender (%)</b>	Female	62.8	51.1
<b>(N = 113)</b>	Male	37.2	48.9
<b>Years of residence (%)</b>	0–5	7.3	n/a
<b>(N = 110)</b>	6–10	11.8	
	11+	80.9	
<b>Annual Income (% based on neighbourhood)</b>	R 0–42 000	9.3	n/a
<b>(N = 107)</b>	R 42 001–360 000	90.7	
	R 360 000+	0.0	
<b>Do you own a car? (%)</b>	Yes	33.6	43.5
<b>(N = 113)</b>	No	66.4	56.5
<b>Means of transportation (%)</b>	Vehicle	31.9	n/a
<b>(N = 113)</b>	On foot	12.4	
	Public transport	54.0	
	Bicycle	1.8	

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015; Statistics South Africa (2011; 2013).

Note: n/a = not applicable

The surveyed population as compared to the whole population had a larger share (62.8%) of females, a smaller share of the age group 18 to 24 (16.8%), and a larger share of people who did not own a car; only 33.6% of the surveyed population owned a car.

To provide a better profile of the surveyed population of respondents in the CBD of Stellenbosch, three more variables were used: (1) means of transportation, (2) income level, and (3) years of residence. First, on income level, the results showed that there were no respondents from high-income wards. Most of the respondents were from middle-income wards (90.7%) (Table 6.3). Second, regarding means of transportation, most of the respondents used public transport as their main transportation (54.0%), followed by vehicle (31.9%) and on foot (12.4); 1.8% travelled by bicycle. Third, regarding years of residence, 80.9% of the respondents had lived in Stellenbosch for more than 11 years, only 11.8% for six to 10 years, and 7.3% for five years.

Based on the results, the average consumer that was surveyed in Bird Street and Church Street could be described as female, 25 to 44 years old, had lived in Stellenbosch for more than 11 years in a middle-income neighbourhood, did not own a car, and travelled by public



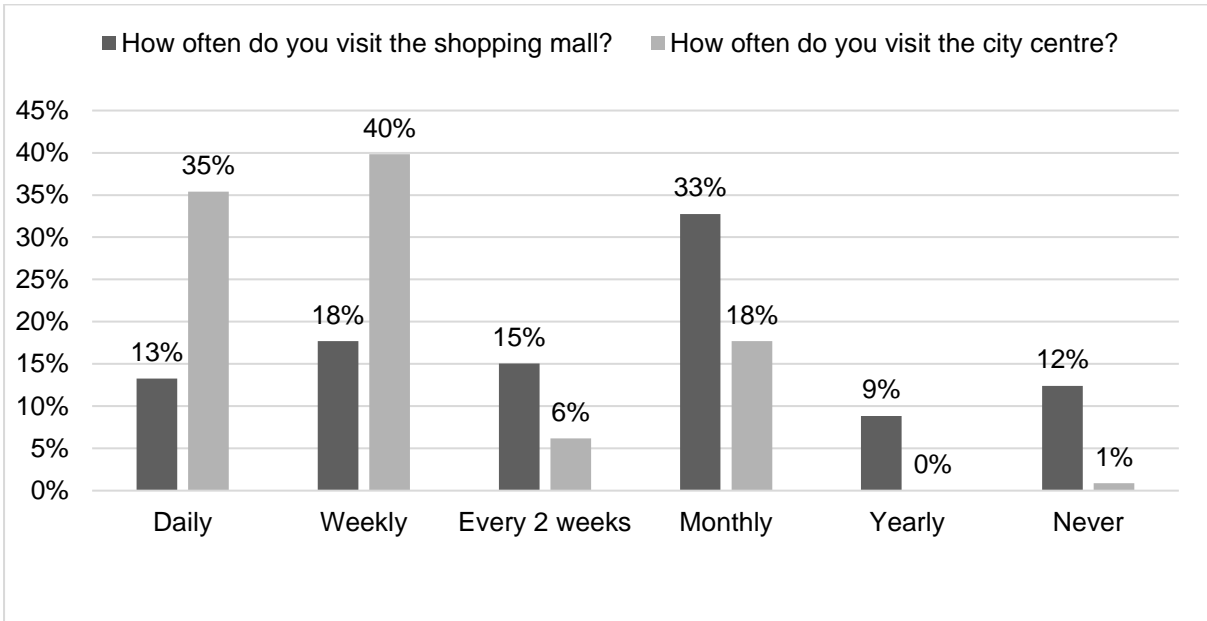
transportation. Along with the demographics of the respondents, the second section of the questionnaire provided an answer on how often the respondents visited the CBD or the shopping mall and what their experiences were of both shopping locations. These results are described in the next section.

### **6.5.2 Where do the surveyed respondents shop?**

This section elaborates on the results of the second section of the questionnaire, relating to how many times the respondents visited the mall or the city centre and what their shopping experiences and preferences were. The respondents were asked to rank their opinions on a Likert scale.

The main goal was to compare the results of the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers. 66.4% of the respondents were categorised as disadvantaged consumers. The surveyed population included a small share of people from low-income neighbourhoods (9.3%) and no share of respondents from high-income neighbourhoods. Moreover, when looking more closely at the respondents, 90.7% of the surveyed population was from middle-income neighbourhoods such as Cloetesville and Devon Valley in Stellenbosch, and 35.1% did not own a car. In general, the survey explains the preferences and experiences of medium-income consumers instead of advantaged and disadvantaged consumers. Regarding the unbalanced groups of 38 advantaged consumers to 75 disadvantaged consumers, further statistical analysis and statistical inference, as conducted in Paarl, was not possible.

For the descriptive analysis of shopping experiences and preferences, it was interesting to look at the results on how often the respondents visited the shopping mall and the city centre in Stellenbosch. To this end, a comparison was made between these two shopping locations (Figure 6.8). It shows that the surveyed population in the CBD of Stellenbosch generally visited the city centre of Stellenbosch more often than the shopping mall. More than 70% of the respondents visited the city centre on a daily to weekly basis for their shopping, while 32.7% of the respondents said they visited the shopping mall on a monthly basis, and around 20% visited the mall yearly or never. When looking more closely at other conditions such as car ownership, it is clear that respondents with a car tended to go to the shopping mall on a weekly to monthly basis, and people without a car mainly on a monthly basis. The most striking difference was that 26.6% of the non-car owners said they never went to the shopping mall, compared to 10.5% of the car owners. In the city centre there were no major differences between car owners and non-car owners. Car owners from middle-income neighbourhoods tended to go to the city centre of Stellenbosch on a daily basis (44.7%), compared to non-car owners (30.7%).



Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

Figure 6.8 Proportions of surveyed population in Stellenbosch CBD in terms of how often they visited the shopping mall and the city centre

To find out for which products and services the surveyed population went to the shopping mall and the city centre, an additional question was asked in which the respondent had to choose between the shopping mall and the city centre. The results are presented in Table 6.4 and the responses in the grey field imply a preference of more than 50%. The respondents from a medium-income background mainly went to the mall for most of the services and goods, while the city centre was preferred more for fast food and take away, furniture, kitchen appliances and repair services. For the supermarket and non-food goods the shopping mall was the preferred place for shopping. It is important to mention that, in this regard, Eikestad Mall expanded in 2011 and this could be an important factor why the mall was preferred more than the city streets outside the mall. Most respondents referred to Eikestad Mall when the interviewee asked which mall they preferred. When looking more closely at car ownership, for example, it turns out that there were no major differences between non-car owners and car owners regarding shopping preferences, except in terms of toys, games and hobbies, where the city centre is preferred much more strongly by non-car owners (25.4%) compared to car owners (8.8%).

Table 6.4 Shopping preferences of the surveyed consumers

Shopping goods and services	Shopping mall	City centre	Both
Supermarket	81.7%	16.5%	1.8%
Clothing/footwear/accessories	80.0%	18.2%	1.8%
Telephones and accessories	76.1%	23.9%	0.0%
Books/stationary	75.5%	24.5%	0.0%
Toys. games and hobbies	70.8%	17.7%	0.9%
Financial services or property services	70.4%	27.8%	1.9%
Travel agents	59.3%	38.5%	2.2%
Restaurants/cafes	57.5%	40.6%	1.9%
Fast food and take away	46.3%	53.7%	0.0%
Furniture, kitchen appliances and decoration	40.4%	57.7%	1.0%
Repairs and restoration services	35.0%	65.0%	0.0%

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

To summarise, regarding the last findings it is clear that the surveyed population, which is mainly from a medium-income neighbourhood, visits the city centre on a daily to weekly basis and the shopping mall on a monthly basis. Although the shopping mall is visited mostly on a monthly basis, it remains the preferred shopping location. This could possibly be explained by the shopping experiences, which were surveyed in the second section of the questionnaire and of which the results are explained in the next section.

6.5.3 What are the shopping experiences in Stellenbosch?

The aim of this question was to find out what the opinions and experiences are regarding the shopping mall and the city centre. As explained in the previous section, the surveyed consumers had a high preference for the shopping mall, even though they did not visit it that often. In the relevant part of the questionnaire, the respondent was asked to what extent he or she agreed on various claims about both shopping locations, such as ‘the shopping mall is a safe place’ and ‘the city centre is a place where I can find almost everything I need’. To answer those questions, the respondent had to answer on a Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree, through somewhat disagree, neutral and somewhat agree to strongly agree.

The results are shown in Table 6.5. The grey fields in the table represent the median answer for each variable. The median represents the middle line, which means that, when the median is set on neutral, 50% of the respondents chose ‘neutral’, ‘somewhat disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’, and 50% chose the other options. Regarding the grey fields, it is possible to see the differences in the shopping experiences between both shopping locations.

Table 6.5 Results of shopping experiences in the shopping locations in Stellenbosch

	Shopping location	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Is a place with a pleasant environment	City centre	9.9%	9.0%	10.8%	20.7%	49.5%
	Shopping mall	4.5%	4.5%	18.8%	24.1%	48.2%
Is an interesting place for shopping	City centre	6.3%	5.4%	10.8%	25.2%	52.3%
	Shopping mall	7.1%	10.7%	6.3%	19.6%	56.3%
Is a safe place	City centre	12.6%	13.5%	23.4%	15.3%	35.1%
	Shopping mall	5.4%	11.6%	20.5%	9.8%	52.7%
Is a place with good accessibility	City centre	0.9%	6.3%	15.3%	16.2%	61.3%
	Shopping mall	0.9%	7.1%	4.5%	18.8%	68.8%
Is a parking-friendly district	City centre	24.5%	12.3%	13.2%	13.2%	36.8%
	Shopping mall	15.7%	9.8%	10.8%	12.7%	51.0%
Is a clean place with interesting public spaces	City centre	9.0%	14.4%	11.7%	19.8%	45.0%
	Shopping mall	2.7%	5.4%	8.9%	15.2%	67.9%
Is a district with a good assortment of retail offer	City centre	9.0%	12.6%	9.9%	27.9%	40.5%
	Shopping mall	3.6%	9.1%	7.3%	21.8%	58.2%
Is a district with a good quality of retail	City centre	10.9%	7.3%	9.1%	20.9%	51.8%
	Shopping mall	0.9%	3.6%	4.5%	20.7%	70.3%
Is an interesting place to be in with family/friends	City centre	6.4%	2.7%	8.2%	20.0%	62.7%
	Shopping mall	1.8%	5.4%	9.0%	18.0%	65.8%
Is a place known for its friendly shopkeepers	City centre	9.1%	6.4%	15.5%	19.1%	50.0%
	Shopping mall	1.8%	9.0%	18.0%	19.8%	51.4%
Is a place where I can find almost everything I need	City centre	20.0%	8.2%	13.6%	20.0%	38.2%
	Shopping mall	14.4%	14.4%	9.0%	19.8%	42.3%
Is an interesting place to stroll around and window shop	City centre	6.4%	7.3%	9.1%	17.3%	60.0%
	Shopping mall	1.8%	6.3%	9.0%	16.2%	66.7%

Source: Author, fieldwork conducted in Nov 2014 and Apr 2015

The surveyed respondents in the Stellenbosch CBD were generally moderately positive to very positive regarding the presented issues in both shopping locations. For example, both shopping locations were perceived ('strongly agree') very positively as places that are interesting to stroll around in and window shop. However, it is clear that the shopping mall has "beaten" the city centre regarding each issue. Firstly, regarding the issues that have to do with environment, pleasantness and interesting for shopping, the shopping mall had better scores. In relation to safety, 35.1% of the respondents strongly agreed that the city centre was a safe place, while 52.7% strongly agreed that the shopping mall was a safe place. On the issue whether the city centre was clean and interesting, 45.0% strongly agreed, while 67.9% strongly agreed on the same issue regarding the shopping mall. The city centre's best score was for

interesting place to be with family and friends, to which 62.7% strongly agreed. However, the shopping mall showed a higher score of 65.8%.

Secondly, regarding the issues that have to do with shopping offering, such as retail quality, retail assortment and friendly shopkeepers, there generally was a more positive perception of the shopping mall compared to the city centre of Stellenbosch. Both shopping locations were well perceived in terms of accessibility, except on parking-friendliness, for which the city centre had a lower score – 24.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed and 36.8% of the respondents strongly agreed. On the other hand, the shopping mall was perceived positively, with 51.0% who strongly agreed that the mall is parking friendly.

To conclude, the results show that, in general, these are a variety of answers regarding the city centre and considerable agreement in answers relating to the shopping mall. There also is correspondence, however, as the respondents ‘somewhat agreed’ that both the shopping mall and the city centre were places to get everything you need and places with a pleasant environment. In general, both shopping locations showed moderate to very positive scores, although the shopping mall generally was perceived more positively by the surveyed population.

## 6.6 Summary

When looking at retail transformation, it became clear that Bird Street and Church Street showed strong growth in their number of retail units from 2009 to 2014. The shopping street did not only show growth in quantitative terms, but also in quality, with more specialised stores that were apparent offering high-quality products. The decentralised shopping mall, on the other hand, showed a trending decline in the period 2011 to 2014, with a higher vacancy rate and a loss of retail units in all available retail categories, including a zero offering of financial and business services. To sum up, Bird Street and Church Street showed growth of 41% compared to a decline of -19.5% in Stellenbosch Square.

Regarding the findings derived from the survey, it became clear that the surveyed population of  $N = 113$  had a large share of respondents from middle-income neighbourhoods surrounding the CBD of Stellenbosch. No respondents were questioned from high-income neighbourhoods and only a few (9.3%) were from low-income neighbourhoods, mainly from Kayamandi, which indicates the profile of the average consumer in Bird Street. In short, the respondents were mainly female, used public transportation, and had lived in Stellenbosch for more than 11 years.

From this group it became clear that the shopping mall was the most preferred shopping location, although the shopping mall was not the most visited shopping location. In this regard, the city centre was visited on a daily to weekly basis, compared to visits to the shopping mall,

which were mainly on a monthly basis. Regarding the results of shopping experiences, the shopping mall was well perceived in terms of all issues, except on pleasant environment and the question whether the mall was a place to get everything the consumer needs, on which the respondents 'somewhat agreed'. The city centre, on the other hand, was positively perceived for most issues, except for parking friendliness, for which the median was neutral to somewhat agree. Remarkably, one quarter of the respondents strongly disagreed on parking friendliness in the city centre. In general, the shopping mall showed better scores for all presented issues, which could explain why consumers preferred the mall to the city centre for most shopping goods and services, such as supermarkets, cell phones and clothing.

To conclude and to initiate the concluding Chapter 7, the findings regarding Stellenbosch in terms of its retail transformation and the surveyed population are compared with the findings on Paarl from Chapter 5 and the literature study in Chapters 2 and 3. Important issues are the retail transformation regarding retail decentralisation and retail resilience in the CBD; important elements to consider were the extent to which Stellenbosch and Paarl showed retail decentralisation. Also important was the issue of retail decentralisation and the subsequent potential impacts on consumers regarding the accessibility of the decentralised mall and their use of and preferences for the CBD or the shopping mall.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Introduction

The reason for this thesis was the apparent strong growth of shopping malls in South Africa in the last decade, which has made this country one of the most “mall” countries in the world. The foundations of shopping mall expansion were explained from theories of urban decentralisation and also retail decentralisation. This explained why retail decentralises based on the incentives to follow the car-borne consumers living in new, remote suburban neighbourhoods. Shopping malls were built in decentralised locations and, combined with their upmarket orientation, large retail offering, air-conditioning, good accessibility by cars and parking friendliness, made the mall a competitor of retail in the city centre in the battle to attract the car-borne consumer. In South Africa there had been strong signs of decentralisation that were strengthened by former apartheid policies, the present segregation, rural idyll and a high car dependency. Suburbs, gated communities and the former apartheid segregation were the perfect conditions to make shopping malls work. In the last decade, shopping malls arose on a large scale, along with economic growth, in metropolitan areas and small and medium-sized cities.

A first exploratory international literature study explained, in short, that shopping malls throughout the world threaten the retail in the central business districts (CBD) of cities, and that the strong growth could be explained in terms of urban decentralisation. Decentralisation was triggered to a great extent by the rise of the automobile, as the rise of car-convenient neighbourhoods provided reasons for the existence of shopping malls. Furthermore, traffic congestion and growing crime rates in, and an outflow of companies and residents from, the CBD to the periphery of the urban area provided the right conditions for the shopping mall to become the best shopping formula. Its high car convenience, product offering and air-conditioned space, in combination with restaurants and entertainment, made the mall an attractive place to go.

However, there is a downside to the extensive growth of shopping malls in decentralised urban areas, which sets the guideline for further investigation: First, shopping malls cause an overall decrease in retail in city centres. In several parts of the world, such as the USA, Western Europe and new economies, retail vacancies arise because of high car use, and a lack of qualitative public transport and planning system. Successful city centres show that retail and a mix of different attractions, from entertainment and public buildings to retail, give an interesting appearance that attracts different kinds of people, such as businesspeople, residents

and tourists. The combination of these factors provides resilient features to defend against the threat of decentralised shopping malls.

Second, shopping malls are generally easily accessible by automobile and offer good-quality products under one roof. The downside is that these shopping locations are often not accessible by public transport, or it is hard to get there on foot, because of the mall's remote location. Therefore, there is the potential that low- to middle-income consumers who do not have a car or have a limited income will have to be satisfied with the limited offering of the full shopping range that is available in the city.

The exploratory international study found that there are two main socio-spatial implications, namely on retail in the CBD and on the disadvantaged consumer. The international literature, as well as South African literature, shows the socio-spatial implications of shopping malls in relation to the disadvantaged consumer and the threat to retail in the CBD. Therefore, this thesis aimed to examine the implications of decentralised shopping malls for CBD retail and the disadvantaged consumer in two medium-sized South African cities, viz. Paarl and Stellenbosch in the Western Cape province. In doing so, the thesis developed the following objectives:

- (1) To examine the literature on the deeper causes of retail decentralisation, shopping malls and their social impacts in the world and in South Africa;
- (2) To provide an overview of and background to retail transformations in the CBD and decentralised malls of Paarl and Stellenbosch;
- (3) To examine the shopping location preferences of disadvantaged and advantaged consumers in Paarl and Stellenbosch.

As a result, the research aim of the study was to examine the effects of decentralised shopping malls on the disadvantaged consumer and CBD retail in Paarl and Stellenbosch. To complement the literature findings, empirical research was conducted to examine what those effects were of decentralised shopping malls on the disadvantaged consumer and CBD retail in Stellenbosch and Paarl.

## **7.2 Decentralised shopping malls in Paarl and Stellenbosch**

The empirical findings on Paarl and Stellenbosch were organised into chapters, with the findings being organised into two different parts: the first objective was to examine the effects on the observed retail transformation and the second the effects on disadvantaged consumers, who were surveyed on their preferences and experiences. In relation to both cities, these research results are organised into Chapter 5 on Paarl and Chapter 6 on Stellenbosch.



Each objective had three sub-research questions on which to focus. First, it was questioned whether stores in the CBD and decentralised shopping malls increased or decreased and what the differences were between the different retail categories. Concerning consumer preferences, it was questioned whether advantaged and disadvantaged consumers experience a different retail convenience and prefer different shopping locations. Finally, yet importantly, an overall question was added to provide a background view of the city centre and urban development in both cities and of the emerging shopping malls in the last decade. With this information, the empirical findings sought an answer the following important questions, as discussed in the next sections, in order to fulfil the aim of the thesis.

**7.2.1 What were the effects of decentralised shopping malls on the CBD’s retail?**

When answering this question on Paarl and Stellenbosch, it became clear how different the cities are in their urban composition. In both cities, the decentralised shopping malls were established around 2003 to 2005, and the possible impact on retail in the CBD could occur through closures, vacancies and relocation from the CBD, or in signs of resilience visible through new retail openings and specialisation. To sum up, the findings on Paarl and Stellenbosch are summarised in Table 7.1.

In relation to Paarl it was concluded that, since the arrival of the shopping mall, retail diversity had declined in the main shopping street of the CBD, causing a more unilateral retail offer aimed at low- to middle-income groups. On the other hand, the CBD in Stellenbosch was not affected by the arrival of Stellenbosch Square. The presence of many pull factors, such as the university, bars, pubs, clubs, restaurants and hotels, make the CBD a well-visited location and resilient in the face of other, competitive retail locations.

Table 7.1 Conclusions on retail transformation

	Paarl	Stellenbosch
<b>CBD’s retail</b>	(-) less retail diversity (-) declining growth potential (-) retail offer is more segregated	(+) strong growth (+) signs of retail resilience
<b>Shopping mall</b>	(+) strong growth	(-) downward trend

Source: Author

Whereas the shopping mall in Paarl showed strong growth and was expected to expand in the near future, Stellenbosch Square showed serious signs of decline over the last five years, losing the competition with the CBD of Stellenbosch and retail locations in Somerset West to the south.

**7.2.2 What were the effects of decentralised shopping malls on the disadvantaged consumer?**

To answer this question, a survey was conducted through convenience sampling in Paarl – in the CBD and Paarl Mall, and in the CBD of Stellenbosch, resulting to 346 completed questionnaires. The aim was to examine whether the surveyed population would reflect a segregated use of retail facilities and whether the disadvantaged consumer indeed used the mall less and found the mall to be less accessible. In short, as Bromley and Thomas (1993b: 225) point out, the disadvantaged shopper could be suffered inconvenience by taking the shopping trip, and would then “lack access to the widest choice and most advantageous priced goods”. From this approach, the following conclusions were drawn on Paarl and Stellenbosch (as summarised in Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Conclusions from the consumer’s survey

Paarl	Stellenbosch
(-) segregated use of retail facilities (-) disadvantaged consumer relies on an unsafe experience in the CBD (+) disadvantaged consumers’ experiences of the shopping mall are very positive compared to those of the advantaged consumer	(o) middle-income groups rely on the CBD (+) city mall in the CBD is highly preferred by the middle-income groups (+) moderately positive experience in the city centre

Source: Author

The consumer survey showed some important differences between Paarl and Stellenbosch. First, the survey in Paarl showed the segregated use of retail in the shopping mall between disadvantaged and advantaged consumers, with the mall being visited considerably less by the disadvantaged consumer. What was striking was that the mall in Paarl was perceived very positively by disadvantaged consumers, even though they did not visit it as often as the advantaged consumers. In Stellenbosch, the shopping mall also was perceived very positively by the respondents (mainly from middle-income groups). Most of the respondents preferred the mall in the CBD to one of the decentralised malls and shopping centres in Stellenbosch.

Second, regarding the city centres, in Paarl it became clear that both disadvantaged and advantaged consumers perceived the city centre of to be unsafe, even though the disadvantaged consumers used the city centre more often than the advantaged consumers. This implies that the demand for more visits to the mall is present for the latter group, especially when the experiences of the disadvantaged consumer are positive. Whereas consumers in Paarl had a low perception of issues such as safety and window shopping, scores in the city centre of

Stellenbosch were positive to very positive on all issues by the middle-income groups. Only the issue of parking scored neutral to moderately positive.

### **7.2.3 Comparing Paarl and Stellenbosch**

On the basis of the conclusions drawn from retail transformation, the consumer survey, archival sources and the in-depth interview with 11 key informants, this section provides a concluding comparison between Paarl and Stellenbosch.

Considering the apparent problems of unilateral consumers and crime, especially in Paarl's CBD, urban renewal plans were relevant. The building of Paarl Mall had a negative effect after its completion in 2005. Brand stores were relocating from Lady Grey Street, where vacant retail units, crime and dirt were daily problems. However, Lady Grey Street has stabilised in the last five years, with more brand stores adapting to the new circumstances by focusing on the low- to middle-class consumer. An urban renewal plan by a public partnership was compiled to improve the pavements and parking areas. Still, there have been no major changes regarding the crime in Lady Grey Street.

While there were difficulties in the Paarl CBD, the CBD of Stellenbosch has shown signs of resilience. A new shopping mall in the city centre – 'Eikestad', and the presence of tourists and students has formed a base of restaurants, clubs, pubs, hotels, backpackers and many brand stores in the CBD. Bird Street, with its low-market stores, attracts different consumers from low- and high-areas consumers. Despite the positive signs, however, there still are threats to retail in the CBD, such as congestion, parking problems and large new shopping areas developed in the last decade to the south in Somerset West and Jamestown. However, despite the new shopping areas, the Stellenbosch CBD has not shown signs of deterioration, but rather signs of resilience through the attraction of tourists and the presence of students.

Similarities were apparent in which both cities, which showed a clear divide between low-, middle- and high-income neighbourhoods. For example, Paarl East is a typical middle-class neighbourhood and is comparable to Cloetesville in Stellenbosch. Regarding retail, both cities have a clear city centre, including upmarket shopping streets and low-market shopping streets. However, Stellenbosch had more tourist stores in the city centre and Paarl had more low-market retail units available in the city centre. In terms of shopping malls, both cities had small shopping centres in the city centre, and Paarl had one large mall – 'Paarl Mall' – of 37 000 m<sup>2</sup> outside the city centre. Stellenbosch had no large shopping mall outside the city centre, only Stellenbosch Square to the south with a shopping area of around 12 800 m<sup>2</sup>. Both malls were built around the same time, with Stellenbosch Square completed in 2003 and Paarl Mall in 2005.

Regarding the different conclusions based on the empirical findings from Paarl and Stellenbosch, some important differences were evident. Firstly, Paarl clearly suffered with the arrival of Paarl Mall, as the new mall strengthened the segregation of retail offering and retail use. The competition between the mall and the city centre was lost by the city centre. The empirical findings confirmed an outflow of A retail and no further growth in A retail in the city centre from 2010 to 2014. Simultaneously, new investments were attracted to Paarl Mall, which were expressed in more retail units allocated and the recent expansion. As a result, a segregated image developed of two different shopping locations, in which the mall attracts middle- to high-income groups and the city centre low- to middle-income groups. Second, the disadvantaged consumer in Paarl is attracted by the mall and perceives the mall as a very interesting place for shopping, although he does not visit the mall as often as the advantaged consumers. Exactly why the disadvantaged consumer does not visit the mall that often was not indicated by the survey, but there is little doubt that the remote location of the mall, income and non-car ownership probably are among the important reasons. Importantly, the disadvantaged consumer assessed the mall as an attractive place for shopping, but somehow was limited from visiting the mall more often. Regarding the negative experiences of the disadvantaged consumer of the city centre, with the city centre being regarded as unsafe and not so clean, one would think that this would be an important push factor to avoid the city centre. However, it becomes clear that the disadvantaged consumer in Paarl relies on the retail in CBD and cannot easily visit the shopping mall, despite regarding it as a very interesting, safe and clean place for shopping.

A completely different image arose of Stellenbosch through the empirical findings. Firstly, retail in the CBD showed signs of resilience, with strong growth in A and B retail being present in Bird Street and Church Street. The researched decentralised mall, 'Stellenbosch Square', showed signs of retail decline and an increasing vacancy rate. Secondly, in assessing the impact on the disadvantaged consumer, the survey indicated that the shopping mall was highly preferred by middle-income groups and non-car owners. The sample of low-income groups and high-income groups was too small to provide an indication on their behalf. For the middle-income groups in Stellenbosch, the city centre was the most visited location for shopping. Shopping location preferences were concentrated on the mall, although the city mall in Stellenbosch was preferred.

To sum up, there was a clear impact on retail in the CBD in Paarl as a result of the new, decentralised mall, while the Stellenbosch CBD showed signs of resilience. Furthermore, Paarl showed a stronger segregation of retail offering and use by consumers, and regarding aspects

of equity, the disadvantaged consumer was limited from visiting Paarl Mall, even when it was the preference and consumers had very positive experiences of the mall. In Stellenbosch, the 'Eikestad' mall in the city seemed to be an important retail facility with full retail access by the disadvantaged consumer. In particular, consumers without a car, from a middle-income background, visited retail facilities in the city centre and were attracted by the city mall in Stellenbosch. After all, the present of a city mall caused a huge change on the aspect of equity in which the location of the city mall in the city centre provided a complete offer of retail for the disadvantaged consumer that created the opportunity to enjoy low and high quality.

### **7.3 Theoretical implications**

The exploratory research provided more understanding of CBD retail, shopping malls and the disadvantaged consumer than was discussed in the literature. Some important differences and confirmations are addressed in relation to the theories in the literature.

First, studies on Coventry in the UK explain that disadvantaged consumers actually do not experience disadvantages and are happy with the accessible retail facilities. However, some disadvantaged consumers possibly were discouraged from visiting advantaged retail locations (Williams & Hubbard 2001). On the other hand, a study from South Africa concluded that the disadvantaged consumer was attracted by high quality stores, even when those stores were too expensive – especially in relation to supermarkets (D'Haese & Van Huylenbroeck 2005). The present study was exploratory and should be considered as an indication of the experience and preferences of the disadvantaged consumer in a South African context. From this understanding, the following can be said: In Paarl, the survey indicated that the shopping mall was experienced positively and, in Stellenbosch, non-car owners also had a positive experience of the shopping mall. However, the disadvantaged consumers indicated that the shopping mall was not visited as often as by advantaged consumers. Reasons mentioned in the literature include limited access, social discouragement, and social exclusion. These issues did not come to the fore in the exploratory surveys in Stellenbosch and Paarl. Further research therefore is recommended in which more qualitative information is obtained (refer to section 7.5 on recommendations for future research).

Second, the study on retail performance in the Paarl and Stellenbosch CBD confirmed that decentralised shopping malls compete with the present retail in the CBD. This also confirmed the present literature in which the shopping mall is explained as a threat to CBD retail in the UK, the USA and Australia (Bromley & Thomas 1993a; Guy 1998; Wrigley & Lowe 2002; Portas 2009; McGreal & Kupke 2014). However, although the CBD retail seems to lose the battle against the rising shopping malls internationally, retail resilience is also confirmed in the

literature. Resilience factors such as unique retail characteristics were mentioned, but the most important factors are access to public transportation, pedestrian traffic, parking facilities, architecture and safe streets (Cachinho 2014; Erkip, Omur & Akinci 2014; Ozuduru, Varol & Ercoskun Yalsiner 2014). This thesis on the performance of the CBD in Stellenbosch and Paarl has provided quantitative data on the main shopping streets in the period from roughly 2009 to 2014. The differences between Paarl and Stellenbosch became clear, with the CBD of Stellenbosch showing strong signs of growth, while that of Paarl showing limited growth to almost no growth. The resilience factors in the South African context were not investigated, but it would seem that the population composition, the presence of a strong tourist industry and a large education centre in Stellenbosch made a difference for the CBD. However, further research is needed to possibly provide a better understanding of what these resilience factors are (see section 7.5, on recommendations for future research).

#### **7.4 Limitations of the study**

This study has offered a broad international perspective on opinions and theories on urban decentralisation and its effect on retail decentralisation and the building of shopping malls in the world and in South Africa. The literature provided the main negative issues that could derive from shopping malls, which were the sites for empiric research in two cities in the Western Cape, South Africa. The empirical research comprised a street survey and a consumer survey. Because of this approach the study had some limitations, which need to be considered.

First, the research was conducted by one individual who was involved in the research proposal, the literature study and the empirical study. As a result, bias could be present in the choices of the researcher, which would have been prevented by a research team or duo. The researcher's questioning technique, scanning, literature study, in-depth interviews and surveys contained choices and selections that could have been exposed to a risk of bias that could have been limited in a research team. Furthermore, during the gathering of self-reported data from the surveys, in-depth interviews and archive research, the risk was that data could have been exaggerated unnecessarily, facts could have been missed or misinterpreted, or could have been related to other concepts wrongly.

Second, it must be considered that this empirical research came from two cities that are not representative of South Africa. Both cities could be identified as medium-sized cities and the findings from the CBD retail and the disadvantaged consumer are unique. In South Africa in particular, cities differ in terms of their urban pattern, population composition, and cultural and economic circumstances. Any comparison with other cities should be discussed carefully and substantiated in relation to their differences and similarities.

Third, to in order to examine CBD retail and the decentralised shopping malls' performance, the main shopping streets were selected in the CBD, along with one shopping mall in Paarl and one in Stellenbosch. In short, two shopping streets were selected in Stellenbosch and one main shopping street in Paarl, along with Paarl Mall in Paarl and Stellenbosch Square in Stellenbosch. In Paarl, retail was concentrated on Lady Grey Street and in Paarl Mall, hence they were selected. However, in Stellenbosch there are more shopping centres that surround the city centre and therefore the results from the selected mall, 'Stellenbosch Square', could not be identified fully as representative of other shopping centres in Stellenbosch. The selection of Stellenbosch Square was based on its decentralised position, and the fact that it is the largest shopping centre in Stellenbosch (at 12 800 m<sup>2</sup>) and located outside the CBD, and therefore was identified as a potential competitor of retail in the CBD.

Fourth, the empiric results on the disadvantaged consumer were gathered by surveys in the streets of Paarl and Stellenbosch, and in Paarl Mall through convenience sampling. Convenience sampling does not follow a probability sampling approach and is not representative of the full population, but rather is advised for studies with limited resources and time restraints. The argument in favour of convenience sampling was based on time restraints, a high response rate, and safety reasons. All of the surveys were conducted in the main shopping streets and malls because many people were available, which provided a higher chance of finding respondents. In South Africa, conducting surveys in public areas should be considered carefully, as many parts could be too unsafe. A random sample approach was not advised for conducting surveys alone in neighbourhoods besides the CBD and malls. Internet and phone surveys could had been an option; however, these hold the probability of a limited response rate, require much time, and would provide a limited sample of disadvantaged consumers from poor neighbourhoods. When considering all the research methods, convenience sampling was the best option to have the highest chance of responses from different people in a short time. As a result, the empirical findings are not representative: In short, the sample contains only respondents who were present at that given moment in the streets and malls and who were willing to participate. However, to limit the bias, only respondents from the Stellenbosch and Paarl municipalities were considered. The empirical findings could provide an indication of the claimed conclusions as discussed in the previous section. Furthermore, to limit bias, demographics were compared and considered in the study.

Fifth, for this study, a total of 346 questionnaires were completed in three different locations through convenience sampling – 113 surveys in the CBD of Stellenbosch, 113 in the CBD of Paarl and 120 in Paarl Mall. To provide a possible comparison between the advantaged and



disadvantaged consumer and to have a large sample of disadvantaged consumers, using two locations in a city, such as a mall and the CBD, is an advisable approach. For Paarl, this turned out right, because most of the disadvantaged consumers who were non-car owners visited the city centre, while high-income groups visited the mall. Therefore, a more representative sample became possible when surveys were conducted in both locations. However, only one location was used to conduct surveys in Stellenbosch. As a result, the sample was too unilateral, with a high representation of middle-income groups. Therefore, the results for Stellenbosch were too limited to compare and to provide inferences about the disadvantaged consumer.

Sixth, because of the use of convenience sampling, statistical inference was not possible, as it requires at least a random sample. However, for a full understanding of the empirical findings, exploratory statistical analysis was conducted, including a Mann-Whitney U test, to examine the differences between the disadvantaged and advantaged consumers in terms of their shopping experiences of the shopping mall and city centre. However, these statistical results were only exploratory and not conclusive.

Last, several limitations were identified during the surveys in the CBDs and the shopping mall. While English is the international language and *lingua franca* in South Africa, the majority of people in the Western Cape, and especially in Stellenbosch and Paarl, speak Afrikaans. During the surveys, some respondents were not able to participate completely or did not participate at all because they were not able to speak English fluently or were not used to speaking English. Therefore, it should be taken into account that almost all the respondents in the survey were willing and able to speak and understand English very well, which create another bias in the sample.

## 7.5 Future research

For future research, the limitations as listed above could form a guideline to avoid bias and limited results and to provide a further objective, complete study or a new study in relation to retail and consumer surveys.

First, the use of old Google street view images was very useful to note the available retail units in the streets and to compare them to present retail, and the images were a reliable source of the retail transformation in both areas. As a result, further insights into retail trends could be observed and the use of city space could be diagnosed by street view images. For future research, street view images could be used in many cities in South Africa, for example for retail studies and urban geography in subjects such as urban sprawl, and to measure vacancies, expansions and demolitions.



Second, the first part of the conceptual framework of this study examined effects of shopping malls on CBD retail in Stellenbosch and Paarl. Both cities had different results, with the CBD of Stellenbosch showing strong resilience and the CBD of Paarl showing signs of negligence. The causes of resilience or decline were not studied, although the urban patterns, composition of the population and unique retail facilities of both cities probably explain why the CBD of Paarl produced such a different result from that of Stellenbosch. To assess the resilience factors of CBDs in South Africa, more research is needed on different CBDs of different sizes in cities throughout the country. To do so it first would be important to examine retail performance in the CBDs to know which CBDs show resilience or decline. From there, it is important to focus on the factors of resilience or decline, in which variables such as access to public transport, composition of population, pedestrian spaces and parking facilities could be tested.

Last, the second part of the conceptual framework of this study was to examine the impact on the disadvantaged consumer through surveys conducted in Paarl and Stellenbosch. As already explained in relation to the limitations of this study, those empirical findings were exploratory and provided an indication of what the impact could be in Paarl and Stellenbosch. Convenience sampling is a good research method with limited resources of time and money. When surveys are going to be conducting alone, unsafe areas should be avoided.

As a result, the conducted surveys have provided an indication of the retail use, preferences and experiences of consumers in Paarl and Stellenbosch. The study has indicated that the disadvantaged consumers were strongly attracted by the retail facilities of the shopping mall, especially in Paarl, but did not have full access to this experience. The literature showed no agreement: One study explained the satisfied position of the disadvantaged consumer, although there were signs of polarisation and discouragement from visiting more advantaged retail locations. To provide a better understanding of whether the disadvantaged consumer is discouraged from visiting advantaged shopping locations, a better examination and test of shopping preferences are needed. To expand the exploratory study from Paarl and Stellenbosch, conclusive research is needed using more case cities for study, as well as resources utilising random sampling, in which more qualitative information could be gathered to examine the shopping behaviour of the disadvantaged consumer and to discover the reasons for this behaviour.

A last word: There is no doubt that retail such as in Paarl, which does not have the unique circumstances of Stellenbosch, is vulnerable to new developments. Then the question remains: is competition a good thing? This question was actually borne in mind in the thesis' backstory

and is now possible to answer based on the empirical findings. At the start of the thesis, a quote of Putnam) was used to explain the relevance of the present study: Putnam (2000) explained that shopping malls encourage one thing only, which is spending in the presence of others and in which no interaction between people is encouraged. From here, the argument is that cities and the city centre have an important social role for the urban community to interact in, also described as the modest form of contact that being with other people is more rewarding than the majority of attractions can provide (Gehl 2011). Cities and streets need people to keep the city safe and liveable. After all, in a world in which we are not bound to places but can choose our residence, it is quality of life that is more important than ever for businesses and people.

Finally, the thesis has addressed research methods that include the use of street view images in urban research. The thesis also addressed the method of using street surveys to enquire after the opinions, preferences and experiences of people from any background. There is not much previous literature or master's theses in South Africa using the same method of street surveys. As a final argument, this method should be used more broadly in research to complement democratic decision making for new spatial plans and developments. Subjects such as access to facilities for the disadvantaged, and the elderly, the poor and young people, still comprise an undeserved large, unexposed group of subjects in literature and studies in the urban field throughout the world.

## REFERENCES

- Attwood V 2013. Durban's plan to revitalise inner city [online]. s.l.: *Independent Online*. Available from: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/durbans-plan-to-revitalise-inner-city-1.1546512#.VBhO3ZUcTmI> [Accessed 16 September 2014].
- Badcock B 2002. *Making sense of cities: A geographical survey*. London: Arnold.
- Baines J, McClintock W, Taylor N & Buckenham B 2003. Using local knowledge. In Becker HA & Vanclay F (eds) *The international handbook of social impact assessment*, 26-41. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Baker RGV & Wood S 2009. Towards robust development of planning policy: Maintaining the viability and vitality of main street shopping precincts. *Geographical Research* 48: 65-74.
- Beavon K 2004. *Johannesburg: The making and shaping of the city*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.
- Berrisford S 2011. Unravelling apartheid spatial planning legislation in South Africa: A case study. *Urban Forum* 22: 247-263.
- Birch EL 2009. Downtown in the "New American City." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 626: 134-153.
- Bollens SA 1998. Urban planning amidst ethnic conflict: Jerusalem and Johannesburg. *Urban Studies* 35: 729.
- Bouston LP & Margo RA 2009. Job decentralization and residential location. *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* 1: 1-31.
- Briggs J & Mwamfupe D 2000. Peri-urban development in an era of structural adjustment in Africa: The city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *Urban Studies* 73(4): 797-809.
- Bromley RDF & Thomas CJ (eds) 1993a. *Retail change: Contemporary issues*. London: UCL Press.
- Bromley RDF & Thomas CJ 1993b. The retail revolution, the carless shopper and disadvantage. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 18(2): 222-236.
- Bromley RDF & Thomas 2002. Food shopping and town centre vitality: Exploring the link. *The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research* 12(2): 109-130.
- Burchell RW, Downs A, McCann B & Mukherji S 2005. *Sprawl costs: Economic impacts of unchecked development*. Washington: Island Press.
- Cachinho H 2014. Consumerscapes and the resilience assessment of urban retail systems. *Cities* 36: 131-144.
- Champion T 2001. Urbanization, suburbanization, counterurbanisation and reurbanisation. In Paddison R (ed) *Handbook of urban studies*, 143-161. London: SAGE Publications.
- Champion T 2003. Testing the differential urbanisation model in Great Britain, 1901-1991. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 94: 11-22.
- Champion T & Hugo G (eds) 2004. *New forms of urbanization: Beyond the urban-rural dichotomy*. Hants: Ashgate.
- Chin N 2002. *Unearthing the roots of urban sprawl: A critical analysis of form, function and methodology*. CASA Working Paper 47. London: Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis, University College London.
- Couch C, Leontidou L & Arnstberg K 2007. Introduction: Definitions, theories and methods of comparative analysis. In Couch C, Leontidou L & Petschel-Held G (eds) *Urban sprawl in Europe: Landscapes, land-use change & policy*, 3-38. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Crankshaw O 2008. Race, space and the post-Fordist spatial order of Johannesburg. *Urban Studies* 45: 1692-1711.

- Crankshaw O 2012. Deindustrialization, professionalization and racial inequality in Cape Town. *Urban Affairs Review* 48: 836-862.
- Crewe L 2000. Geographies of retailing and consumption. *Progress in Human Geography* 24(2): 275-290.
- Crewe L 2003. Geographies of retailing and consumption: Markets in motion. *Progress in Human Geography* 27(3): 352-362.
- Czegledy AP 2003. Villas of the Highveld: A cultural perspective on Johannesburg and its “northern suburbs”. In Tomlinson R, Beauregard RA, Bremner L & Mangcu X (eds) *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the postapartheid city*, 21-42. New York: Routledge.
- Demographia 2005. High-income world metropolitan areas: Core city and suburban population trends [online]. Belleville: Wendell Cox Consultancy. Available from: <http://www.demographia.com/db-highmetro.htm> [Accessed 6 March 2014].
- Demographia 2014. Demographia world urban areas (10<sup>th</sup> annual edition) [online]. Belleville: Wendell Cox Consultancy. Available from: <http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua.pdf> [Accessed 28 June 2014].
- Dewar N 2004. ‘Stemming the tide’: Revitalizing the central business district of Cape Town. *South African Geographical Journal* 86(2): 91-103.
- D’Haese M & Van Huylenbroeck 2005. The rise of the supermarkets and changing expenditure of poor rural households: Case study in the Transkei area, South Africa. *Food Policy* 30: 97-113.
- Die Burger* 2009. Geen borgtog vir vier ná inbraak en jaagtog. 9 June: 7.
- Dommissie 2002. Paarl kry winkelsentrum van R220 m. *Die Burger* 16 May: 1.
- Domosh M 1998. Retailing [Online]. In N Shumsky (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Urban America: The cities and suburbs*. Santa Barbara CA: ABC-CLIO. Available from: <http://ez.sun.ac.za/login?url=http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/abcurban/retailing/0> [Accessed 2 July 2014].
- Donaldson R 2012. Coastal spaces as ‘walls’: Gated developments in small towns on the West Coast. In Donaldson R & Marais L (eds) *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, 263-274. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Donaldson R 2014. The production of quartered spaces in Stellenbosch. Inaugural lecture delivered at Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch.
- Donaldson R & Marais L (eds) 2012. *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Dorpstraat PKEF. *Stellenbosch Square* [online]. Stellenbosch: Dorpstraat PKEF. Available from: <http://www.dorpstraat.net/projects/stellenbosch> [Accessed 15 October 2015].
- Drakenstein Municipality 2010. Amended Spatial Development Framework (SDF) for the Drakenstein Municipality [online]. Paarl: Drakenstein Municipality. Available from: <http://www.drakenstein.gov.za/Administration/Documents/Documents%20For%20Citizen%20Viewing/IDP/2013%20-%202018/Spatial%20Development%20Framework/Complete%20Spatial%20Development%20Framework%20-%2020%2024%20Nov%202010.pdf> [Accessed 20 September 2015].
- Drakenstein Municipality 2013. *Final integrated development plan (IDP) 2013-2018*. Paarl: Drakenstein Municipality.
- Drakenstein Municipality 2015. *Drakenstein Municipality integrated development plan (IDP) 2015/16 Revision*. Paarl: Drakenstein Municipality.
- Drakenstein Municipality DPED (Department of Planning & Economic Development) 2001a. 9 April 2001. *Letter from Town Secretary on Application for rezoning, subdivision and*

- consent use: Erf 12260, Paarl.* Obtained by public access of information. Paarl: Drakenstein Municipality, DPED.
- Drakenstein Municipality DPED (Department of Planning and Economic Development) 2001b. *31 July 2001. Memorandum – Rezoning of portion 1 of Erf 12260 and amendment of the Urban Structure Plan.* Obtained by public access of information. Paarl: Drakenstein Municipality, DPED.
- Drakenstein Municipality DPED (Department of Planning and Economic Development) 2002. *24 May 2002. Memorandum – Financial Mail – Query Re Paarl Mall.* Obtained by public access of information. Paarl: Drakenstein Municipality, DPED.
- Drakenstein Municipality DPED (Department of Planning and Economic Development) 2003. *28 October 2003. Paarl Mall: Upliftment of CBD.* Obtained by public access of information. Paarl: Drakenstein Municipality, DPED.
- Eikestad Nuus 2004. New shopping centre in Winelands. 24 September: s.p.
- Erkip F, Omur K & Akinci GM 2014. Retailers' resilience strategies and their impacts on urban spaces in Turkey. *Cities* 36: 112-120.
- Ewing R 1997. Is Los Angeles-style sprawl desirable? *Journal of the American Planning Association* 63: 107-126.
- Ewing R, Pendall R & Chen DDT 2002. *Measuring sprawl and its impact.* Washington DC: Smart Growth America.
- Fernandes JR & Chamusca P 2014. Urban policies, planning and retail resilience. *Cities* 36: 170-177.
- Ferreira S & Visser G 2007. Creating an African Riviera: Revisiting the impact of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development in Cape Town. *Urban Forum* 18: 227-246.
- Financial Mail* 2002. Dark satanic malls. 24 May: 52.
- Financial Mail* 2006. The towns fight back: New model challenges SA developers who want to kill town centres with suburban malls. 7 July: 66.
- Findlay A & Sparks L 2012. Far from the 'magic of the mall': Retail (change) in 'other places'. *Scottish Geographical Journal* 128: 24-41.
- Florida R 2002. *The rise of the creative class: And how it is transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life.* New York: Basic Books.
- Frenkel A & Orenstein D 2011. A pluralistic approach to defining and measuring urban sprawl. In Yang X (ed) *Urban remote sensing: Monitoring, synthesis and modelling in the urban environment*, 166-181. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Freund B 2007. *The African city: A history.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Friedman JJ 1973. Variations in the level of central business district retail activity among large US cities: 1954 and 1967. *Land Economics* 49: 326-335.
- Future Cape Town 2013. Summit proceedings and discussion paper: Drawing line on urban sprawl. Paper delivered at Future Cape Town Summit 2013, Cape Town.
- Galster G, Hanson R, Ratcliffe MR, Wolman H, Coleman S & Freihage J 2001. Wrestling sprawl to the ground: Defining and measuring an elusive concept. *Housing Policy Debate* 12: 681-717.
- Gans P & Kemper FJ 2002. Urbanization in Germany before and after unification. In Geyer HS (ed) *International handbook of urban systems: Studies of urbanization and migration in advanced and developing countries.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Gauteng Province 2012. *The retail industry on the rise in South Africa.* s.l.: Provincial Treasury, Gauteng province.
- Gehl J 2011. *Life between buildings: Using public space.* Washington: Island Press.
- Geyer HS (ed) 2002. *International handbook of urban systems: Studies of urbanization and migration in advanced and developing countries.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Geyer HS 2003. Differential urbanisation in South Africa: A further exploration. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 94: 89-99.



- Geyer HS & Kontuly T 1993. A theoretical foundation for the concept of differential urbanization. *International Regional Science Review* 12: 157-177.
- Geyer HS & Van der Merwe IJ 2002. Current perspectives on urban change in South Africa. In Geyer HS (ed) *International handbook of urban systems: Studies of urbanization and migration in advanced and developing countries*, 563-593. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Geyer HS, Geyer HS, Du Plessis DJ & Van Eeden A 2012. Differential urbanisation trends in South Africa: Regional and local equivalents. *Environment and Planning A* 44: 2940-2956.
- Glaeser G 2011. *Triumph of the city*. London: Macmillan.
- Goga KV 2003. Property investors and decentralisation: A case of false competition. In Tomlinson R, Beauregard RA, Bremner L & Mangcu X (eds) *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the post-apartheid city*, 71-82. New York: Routledge.
- Goodman R & Coiacetto E 2012. Shopping streets or malls: Changes in retail form in Melbourne and Brisbane. *Urban Policy and Research* 30(3): 251-273.
- Google 2015a. Google Street View Images [Online]. Available from: <https://maps.google.com> [Accessed 10 June 2016].
- Google 2015b. Using Google Maps, Google Earth and Street View [online]. S.l.: Google. Available from: <https://www.google.com/permissions/geoguidelines.html#streetview> [Accessed 18 December 2015].
- Gordon P & Richardson HW 2012. Urban structure and economic growth. In Brooks N, Donaghy K & Knaap G (eds) *The Oxford handbook of urban economics and planning*, 98-122. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grant J 2000. Life with less sprawl. *Alternatives Journal* 26: 24.
- Guy CM 1998. Controlling new retail spaces: The impress of planning policies in Western Europe. *Urban Studies* 35: 953-979.
- Gwebu TD 2006. Towards a theoretical exploration of the differential urbanisation model in sub-Saharan Africa: The Botswana case. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 97: 418-433.
- Hahn HP & Kastner K (eds) 2012. *Urban life-worlds in motion: African perspectives*. Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Halpern ABW & Meadows ME 2013. Fifty years of land use change in the Swartland, Western Cape, South Africa: Characteristics, causes and consequences. *South African Geographical Journal* 95: 38-49.
- Hinderman CH 1960. The evolving downtown-suburban retail pattern. *Journal of Marketing* 25: 59-62.
- Hindson D 1987. Alternative strategies in South Africa: A critical evaluation. *Third World Quarterly* 9(2): 583-600.
- Hoogendoorn G & Nel E 2012. Exploring small town development dynamics in rural South Africa. In Donaldson R & Marais L (eds) *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, 21-34. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Hoogendoorn G, Visser G, Lenka M, Marais L & Van Rooyen D 2008. Revitalizing the Bloemfontein CBD: Prospects, obstacles, and lost opportunities. *Urban Forum* 19(2): 159-174.
- Hoogstra GJ, Van Dijk J & Florax RJGM 2011. Determinants of variation in population-employment interaction findings: A quasi-experimental meta-analysis. *Geographical Analysis* 43: 14-37.
- Houssay-Holzschuch M & Teppo A 2009. A mall for all? Race and public space in post-apartheid Cape Town. *Cultural Geographies* 16: 351.
- Jacobs J 1961. *The death and life of great American cities*. New York: Vintage Books.

- Jain M, Siendentop S, Taubenböck H & Namperumal S 2013. From suburbanization to counterurbanisation? Investigating urban dynamics in the national capital region Delhi, India. *Environment and Urbanization Asia* 4: 247-266.
- Jones C 2010. The rise and fall of the high street shop as an investment class. *Journal of Property Investment & Finance* 28: 275-284.
- Jones M 2008. New plans to change pace of traffic in Stellenbosch. *Cape Times* 12 August: 4.
- Kalhan A 2007. Impact of malls on small shops and hawkers. *Economic and Political Weekly*: 2063-2066.
- Karrholm M 2012. *Retailising space: Architecture, retail and the territorialisation of public space*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Kontuly T & Geyer HS 2003. Lessons learned from testing the differential urbanisation model. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 94: 124-128.
- Kudelasz A 1997. Retail planning precedent: Lessons and prospects for South Africa. *Urban Forum* 8: 247-254.
- Larsen P 2005. Small-town dilemmas. *Financial Mail* 13 May: 1.
- Leontidou L, Afouxenidis A, Kourliouros E & Marmaras E 2007. Infrastructure-related urban sprawl: Mega-events and hybrid peri-urban landscapes in Southern Europe. In Couch C, Leontidou L & Petschel-Held G (eds) *Urban sprawl in Europe: Landscapes, land-use change and policy*, 71-101. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lever WF 2001. The post-Fordist city. In Paddison R (ed) *Handbook of urban studies*, 273-283. London: SAGE Publications.
- Lewis GH 1990. Community through exclusion and illusion: The creation of social worlds in an American shopping mall. *Journal of Popular Culture* 24(2): 121-136.
- Ligthelm AA 2008. The impact of shopping mall development on small township retailers. *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences* 11: 37-53.
- Lloyd K & Auld C 2003. Leisure, public space and quality of life in the urban environment. *Urban Policy and Research* 21(4): 339-356.
- Logemann J 2012. Beyond self-service: The limits of 'Americanization' in post-war German retailing in comparative perspective. In Jessen R & Langer L (eds) *Transformations of retailing in Europe after 1945*, 87-101. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Louw D 1999. Die invloed van buurt- en streekwinkelsentrums op sentrale sakekerne. Master's thesis. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.
- Lund Research 2013. Mann-Whitney U test using SPSS Statistics [online]. s.l.: Lund Research Ltd. Available from: <https://statistics.laerd.com/spss-tutorials/mann-whitney-u-test-using-spss-statistics.php> [Accessed 3 September 2015].
- Mabin A, Butcher S & Block R 2013. Peripheries, suburbanisms and change in sub-Saharan African cities. *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies* 39: 167-190.
- Malan H 2001. Argitek-kunstenaar looi Eikestad oor 'onderrokke'. *Die Burger* 11 August: 2.
- Matsumoto Y 2009. Urban process in Tokyo: 1955-2005 [online]. s.l.: Rikkyo University. Available from <http://www.rikkyo.ne.jp/web/ymatsumoto/urbanprocess2009.pdf> [Accessed 9 April 2014].
- McGreal S & Kupke V 2014. The spatial dynamic of retail planning and retail investment: Evidence from Australian cities. *Urban Policy and Research* 32(3): 253-269.
- Miller D 2005. New regional imaginaries in post-apartheid Southern Africa: Retail workers at a shopping mall in Zambia. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31: 117-145.
- Muhlebach R & Muhlebach E 2013. The "mallings" of American retail. *Journal of Property Management* 78: 22.
- Mukherji S 2002. Urbanization and migration in India: A different scene. In Geyer HS (ed) *International handbook of urban systems: Studies of urbanization and migration in advanced and developing countries*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

- Muller J 2013. Number of large malls in South Africa estimated to grow to 180 in 2016 [online]. s.l.: *Business Day*. Available from: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/business/property/2013/11/28/number-of-large-malls-in-south-africa-estimated-to-grow-to-180-by-2016> [Accessed 6 July 2014].
- Multinational Monitor 2003. The political economy of sprawl in the developing world. *Multinational Monitor* Oct 2003: 17-19.
- Multi-Purpose Business Solutions 2000. An economic impact assessment for a proposed mixed-use commercial property development in Jamestown, Stellenbosch. Stellenbosch: Multi-Purpose Business Solutions. Obtained by public access of information at Stellenbosch Municipality.
- Musakwa W 2013. Evaluating the potential of earth observation for supporting sustainable urban land use planning. Doctoral dissertation. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University, Faculty of Science.
- Myers G 2011. *African cities: Alternative visions of urban theory and practice*. London: Zed Books.
- Nel E & Rogerson CM 2007. Evolving local economic development policy and practice in South Africa with special reference to smaller urban centres. *Urban Forum* 18: 1-11.
- Nkonge M 2010. Staking a claim: Making Lusaka city's public space public again. In Ayala A & Geurts E (eds) *Urbanising Africa: The city centre revisited*. IHS Working Papers number 26/2010. Rotterdam: Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies.
- NPC (National Planning Commission) 2012. *National Development Plan*. Pretoria: NPC.
- Otiso KF & Owusu G 2008. Comparative urbanization in Ghana and Kenya in time and space. *GeoJournal* 71: 143-157.
- Ozuduru BH, Varol C & Ercoskun Yalciner O 2014. Do shopping centres abate the resilience of shopping streets? The co-existence of both shopping venues in Ankara, Turkey. *Cities* 36: 1-13.
- Paarl Mall 2012. *Centre information* [online]. Paarl: Paarl Mall. Available from: [http://www.paarlmall.co.za/centre\\_information.htm](http://www.paarlmall.co.za/centre_information.htm) [Accessed 6 September 2015].
- Paarl Mall 2015a. *Store directory* [online]. Paarl: Paarl Mall. Available from <http://www.paarlmall.co.za/categories1.htm> [Accessed 6 September 2015].
- Paarl Mall 2015b. *Mall map* [online]. Paarl: Paarl Mall. Available from <http://www.paarlmall.co.za/mallmap.htm> [Accessed 6 September 2015].
- Paarl Post* 2012. Klub-amok lei tot polisie. 6 September: 1.
- Paarl Post* 2015. Dieselfde besighede gereeld geteiken: Middelorp loop deur onder diefstal en roof. 5 February: 1.
- Pacione M 2009. *Urban geography: A global perspective*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Routledge.
- Patacchini E & Zenou Y 2009. Urban sprawl in Europe. *Brooking-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* 125-149.
- Piacentini M, Hibbert S & Al-Dajani H 2001. Diversity in deprivation: Exploring the grocery shopping behaviour of disadvantaged consumers. *The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research* 11: 141-158.
- Pieterse E 2011. Grasping the unknowable: Coming to grips with African urbanisms. *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies* 37, 5-23.
- Pirie G 2007. Reanimating a comatose goddess: Reconfiguring central Cape Town. *Urban Forum* 18: 125-151.
- Portas M 2011. *The Portas Review: An independent review into the future of our high streets*. London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills.
- Posel D 2010. Races to consume: Revisiting South Africa's history of race, consumption and the struggle for freedom. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(2): 157-175.
- Prinsloo DA 2013. Benchmarking the South African shopping centre industry: International and local trends [online]. s.l.: Urban Studies. Available from:



- <http://www.urbanstudies.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/SACSC-Research-Report-Benchmark-March-2013.pdf> [Accessed 8 April 2015].
- Putnam RD 2000. *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks.
- Reckien D & Karecha J 2007. Sprawl in European cities: The comparative background. In Couch C, Leontidou L & Petschel-Held G (eds) *Urban sprawl in Europe: Landscapes, land-use change and policy*, 39-67. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Reimers V 2013. Convenience for the car-born shopper: Are malls and shopping strips driving customers away? *Transportation Research Part A* 49: 35-47.
- Richardson HW & Bae CC (eds) 2004. *Urban sprawl in Western Europe and the United States*. Hants: Ashgate.
- Richardson HW & Gordon P 2004. US population and employment trends and sprawl issues. In Richardson HW & Bae CC (eds) *Urban sprawl in Western Europe and the United States*, 217-235. Hants: Ashgate.
- Rodrigues CA 2009. Angolan cities: Urban (re)segregation? In Locatelli F & Nugent P (eds) *African cities*, 37-54. Leiden: Brill.
- Rotem-Mindali O 2012. Retail fragmentation vs. urban liveability: Applying ecological methods in urban geography research. *Applied Geography* 35: 292-299.
- Sallez A & Burgi J 2004. Urban sprawl in France 1990-1999. In Richardson HW & Bae CC (eds) *Urban sprawl in Western Europe and the United States*, 115-135. Hants: Ashgate.
- Saturday Argus* 2013. Stellenbosch faces urban sprawl danger. 12 January: 1.
- Seethal C 2005. Postmodern urban politics in South Africa: The case of Stellenbosch (2000-2004). *South African Geographical Journal* 87(2): 141-151.
- Sheskin DJ 2003. *Handbook of parametric and nonparametric statistical procedures*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Boca Raton: Chapman & Hall/CRC.
- Siyongwana PQ & Chanza N 2016. Interrogating the post-apartheid socio-economic transformation in Mdantsane, Buffalo City. *GeoJournal* 2016. doi:10.1007/s10708-016-9714-2
- Smith C 2009. Stellenbosch-sakekern teen R650 m. herontwikkel. *Die Burger* 20 June: 18.
- Soja EW 1989. *Postmodern geographies: The reassertion of space in critical social theory*. London: Verso.
- Somerset Mall 2014. The mall [online]. Somerset-West: Somerset Mall. Available from: <http://somerseetmall.co.za/about-us.htm> [Accessed 4 October 2015].
- Sorescu A, Frambach RT, Singh J, Rangaswamy A & Bridges C 2011. Innovations in retail business models. *Journal of Retailing* 87S: S3-S16.
- Stanilov K 2004. Planning for sprawl: The evolution of a regional shopping center. In Stanilov K & Scheer BC (eds) *Suburban form: An international perspective*, 177-202. New York: Routledge.
- Voice of America* 2012. Johannesburg's 'no-go' zone experiences revival. 10 April. s.p. Available from <http://www.voanews.com/content/johannesburg-district-rises-above-urban-decay-crime-146795365/180975.html> [Accessed on 9 August 2016].
- Statistics South Africa 2011a. Stellenbosch [online]. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa. Available from: [http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page\\_id=993&id=stellenbosch-municipality](http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=stellenbosch-municipality) [Accessed 29 October 2014].
- Statistics South Africa 2011b. Drakenstein [online]. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa. Available from: [http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page\\_id=993&id=drakenstein-municipality](http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=drakenstein-municipality) [Accessed 29 October 2014].
- Statistics South Africa 2013. *National household travel survey 2013*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Statistics South Africa 2014. *An examination of absolute poverty between 2006 and 2011*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

- Stellenbosch Municipality 2001a. *29 August 2001. Jamestown retail development: Application Stellenbosch Municipality*. Obtained by public access of information. S.l.: CK Rumboll & Partners.
- Stellenbosch Municipality 2001b. *19 June 2001. First executive committee meeting: Application for rezoning and subdivision of portions 593 and 594 of the farm Blaauwklip no 510, Jamestown*. Obtained by public access of information. S.l.: Stellenbosch Municipality.
- Stellenbosch Municipality 2001c. *11 December 2001. 11<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Council of the Stellenbosch Municipality: Application of the rezoning and subdivision of portions 593 and 594 of the farm Blaauwklip no 510, Jamestown*. Obtained by public access of information. S.l.: Stellenbosch Municipality.
- Stellenbosch Municipality 2010a. Spatial development framework: Draft strategies report [online]. Cape Town: CNdV Africa Planning and Design CC. Available from: <http://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/documents/planning-and-building-plans/policies/stellenbosch-msdf-strategies-report-march-2010> [Accessed 28 September 2015].
- Stellenbosch Municipality 2010b. *11 November 2010. Memorandum Planning & Development: Insaake Stellenbosch Square*. Obtained by public access of information. S.l.: Stellenbosch Municipality.
- Stellenbosch Municipality 2013a. Chapter 5: Transport needs assessment [online]. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Municipality. Available from: <http://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/documents/transport?limit=20&limitstart=20> [Accessed 3 October 2015].
- Stellenbosch Municipality 2013b. *22 October 2013. Planning and Development Committee October 2013: Report regarding the financial contribution that formed part of the approval conditions of various developments within the Stellenbosch Municipal area (WC024)*. Obtained by public access of information. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Municipality.
- Stellenbosch Square 2011. *23 November 2011. Stellenbosch Square Store Directory* [online: Facebook timeline photos]. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Square public Facebook page. Available from: [https://scontent-ams2-1.xx.fbcdn.net/hphotos-xfal/t31.0-8/s960x960/326589\\_294724413895702\\_2046370015\\_o.jpg](https://scontent-ams2-1.xx.fbcdn.net/hphotos-xfal/t31.0-8/s960x960/326589_294724413895702_2046370015_o.jpg) [Accessed 14 October 2015].
- Stellenbosch Square 2016. *Stellenbosch Square Store Directory* [online]. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Square. Available from: <http://stellenboschsquare.info/> [Accessed 17 June 2016].
- Stellenbosch University 2013. *Stellenbosch by the numbers* [online]. Stellenbosch: Bureau for Economic Research, Stellenbosch University. Available from: <http://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/documents/socio-economic-data/1602-led-economic-profile-in-numbers-aug-2013/file> [Accessed 15 April 2015].
- Stellenbosch University 2015. Statistic profile: Core statistics 2015 [online]. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University. Available from: <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/statistical-profile-2014-test> [Accessed 28 September 2015].
- Steyn L 2014. The magnificent march of SA's malls [online]. s.l.: *Mail & Guardian*. Available from: <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-10-02-the-magnificent-march-of-sas-malls> [Accessed 10 February 2015].
- Sustainability Institute 2012. Stellenbosch Municipality: Spatial development framework [online]. Stellenbosch: Sustainability Institute. Available from: [http://www.sustainabilityinstitute.net/newsdocs/document-downloads/doc\\_download/626-stellenbosch-spatial-development-framework-part-1](http://www.sustainabilityinstitute.net/newsdocs/document-downloads/doc_download/626-stellenbosch-spatial-development-framework-part-1) [Accessed 3 October 2015].

- Teppo A & Houssay-Holzschuch M 2013. Gugulethu: Revolution for neoliberalism in a South African township. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 47: 51-74.
- Todes A 2012. Urban growth and strategic spatial planning in Johannesburg, South Africa. *Cities* 29: 158-165.
- Toerien D & Marais L 2012. Classification of South African towns revisited. In Donaldson R & Marais L (eds) *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, 3-19. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Tomlinson R & Larsen P 2003. The race, class and space of shopping. In Tomlinson R (ed) *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the postapartheid city*, 43-55: New York: Routledge.
- Torrens PM 2006. Simulating sprawl. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96: 248-275.
- Torrens PM 2008. A toolkit for measuring sprawl. *Spatial Analysis* 1: 5-36.
- Turok I 2010. Deconstructing density: Strategic dilemmas confronting the post-apartheid city. *Cities* 28: 470-477.
- Turok I 2013. Transforming South Africa's divided cities: Can devolution help? *International Planning Studies* 18: 168-187.
- UN-Habitat 2010. *State of the world's cities 2010/2011: Bridging the urban divide*. London: Earthscan.
- United Nations, DESA (Department of Economic and Social Affairs), Population Division 2012. *World urbanization prospects: The 2011 revision*. CD-ROM edition.
- Van Dyk C 2004. Eikestad kry groot winkelsentrum. *Die Burger* 3 July: 1
- Van der Westhuizen T 2003. Paarl-sakegebied kan miljoene lok. *Burger* 6 February: 21.
- Van Rensburg JDJ & Campbell MM 2011. The management of urban sprawl by applying an urban edge strategy. *Urban Forum* 23: 61-72.
- Vanderschuren MJWA & Galaria S 2003. Can the post-apartheid South African city move towards accessibility, equity and sustainability? *International Social Science Journal* 55(176): 265-277.
- Voyce M 2007. Shopping malls in India: New social 'dividing practices'. *Economic and Political Weekly* June 2: 2055-2062.
- Warring LA 1994. The socio-economic impact of regional shopping centres on surrounding retail distribution with particular reference to the Somerset Mall, Somerset West. Master's thesis. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.
- Wassmer RW 2002. Fiscalisation of land use, urban growth boundaries and non-central retail sprawl in the Western United States. *Urban Studies* 39: 1307-1327.
- Weisbrod G & Pollakowski H 1984. Effects of downtown improvement projects on retail activity. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 50(2): 148-161.
- Western Cape Government, DEAAT (Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism), Transport Branch 2000. 7 November 2000. *Application for rezoning from subdivisional are to permit a mixed use development consisting of a retail centre, office park and motor showroom with a departure to operate a filling station and service station*. Obtained by public access of information from Stellenbosch Municipality. Cape Town: Western Cape Government, DEAAT, Transport Branch.
- Western Cape Government DEA&DP (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning) 2000a. 22 September 2000, *Comments on objections regarding the proposed simultaneous application for rezoning and subdivision of Erf 12260, Paarl*. Erf 12260 Paarl. Obtained by public access of information. Cape Town: Western Cape Government, DEA&DP.
- Western Cape Government DEA&DP (Environmental Affairs and Development Planning) 2000b. 6 Nov 2000, *Application letter Paarl Mall, Department Planning &*

- Development Drakenstein Municipality*. Erf 12260 Paarl, 2:1. Obtained by public access of information. Cape Town: Western Cape Government, DEA&DP.
- Western Cape Government DEA&DP (Environmental Affairs and Development Planning) 2001. 25 September 2001, *Approved Application for rezoning, subdivision and consent use: Portion of erf 12260, Paarl: Paarl Mall Regional Shopping Centre*. Erf 12260 Paarl. Obtained by public access of information. Cape Town: Western Cape Government, DEA&DP.
- White MJ 1999. Urban areas with decentralized employment: Theory and empirical work. *Handbook of Regional and Urban economies* 3: 1375-1412.
- Williams P & Hubbard P 2001. Who is disadvantaged? Retail change and social exclusion. *The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research* 11(3): 267-286.
- World Bank 2014. Passenger cars (per 1,000 people) [online]. s.l.: The World Bank. Available from:  
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IS.VEH.PCAR.P3/countries/?display=default>  
 [Accessed 12 April 2014].
- Wrigley N & Dolega L 2011. Resilience, fragility, and adaptation: New evidence on the performance of UK high streets during global economic crisis and its policy implications. *Environment and Planning A* 43: 2337-2363.
- Wrigley N & Lowe M 2002. *Reading retail: A geographical perspective on retailing and consumption spaces*. London: Arnold.
- Zeng C, Liu Y, Liu Y & Qiu L 2013. Urban sprawl and related problems: Bibliometric analysis and refined analysis from 1991 to 2011. *Chinese Geographical Science* 24(2): 245-257. doi:10.1007/s11769-013-0619-4
- Zietsman HL, Ferreira SLA & Van der Merwe IJ 2006. Measuring the growth potential of towns in the Western Cape, South Africa. *Development Southern Africa* 23: 685-700.

## PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Drakenstein Municipality 2015a. Manager, local economic development section of Drakenstein Municipality. Interview on 16 April about the CBD's retail and shopping malls in Paarl of the last five years.

Drakenstein Municipality 2015b. Spatial/forward planning department of Drakenstein Municipality. Email on 8 April about the CBD's retail and shopping malls in Paarl of the last five years.

Paarl Mall 2014. Marketing manager of Paarl Mall. Email on 19 August about shopping mall development, specifically Paarl Mall.

Shop owner Paarl CBD 2015a. Shop owner in Lady Grey Street. Interview on 8 April about the retail growth and decline in the CBD in the last five years and expectations of the future.

Shop owner Paarl CBD 2015b. Shop owner in Lady Grey Street. Interview on 13 April about the retail growth and decline in the CBD in the last five years and expectations of the future.

Shop owner Paarl Mall 2015a. Shop owner in Paarl Mall. Interview on 7 April about the retail growth and decline of Paarl Mall in the last five years and expectations of the future.

Shop owner Paarl Mall 2015b. Shop owner in Paarl Mall. Interview on 7 April about the retail growth and decline of Paarl Mall in the last five years and expectations of the future.

Shop owner Stellenbosch Square 2015. Shop owner in Stellenbosch Square. Interview on 14 April about the retail growth and decline of Stellenbosch Square in the last five years and expectations of the future.

Stellenbosch Square 2014. Centre Manager of Stellenbosch Square. Email on 10 July about shopping mall development, specifically Stellenbosch Square.



## APPENDICES

- A** List of retail categories adapted from Wrigley and Dolega (2011: 2363)
- B** The questionnaire conducted in the streets. Target: Consumers, advantaged and disadvantaged, who live in Stellenbosch and Paarl. Duration 12 min.
- C** In-depth interviews. Target: Companies, NGOs and governments that have valuable data, information and opinions on the economic impact of shopping malls on CBD retail. Duration: 45 min.
- D** In-depth interviews. Target: Local residents in Paarl Mall and Stellenbosch Square, who provide a background story to the planning process and local impacts. Duration 20-40 minutes.
- E** Regulations on the use of Google street view images for academic purposes.





## APPENDIX A: LIST OF RETAIL CATEGORIES

Table A1. Retail and service categories and subclasses.

Non-food retail	Convenience	Retail services
Antique shops Art and art dealers Booksellers Carpets and flooring Catalogue showrooms Charity shops Chemist and drugstores Children and infant wear Clothing general Crafts, gifts, china and glass Cycles and accessories Department and variety stores DIY and home improvements Electrical and durable goods Florists Footwear Furniture fitted Furniture general Gardens and equipment Greetings cards Hardware and household goods Jewellery, watches and silver Ladies and menswear and accessories Ladies wear and accessories Leather and travel goods Menswear and accessories Music and musical instruments Music and video recordings Newsagents and stationers Office supplies Other comparison goods Photographic and optical Second hand goods, books, etc. Sports, camping and leisure goods Telephones and accessories Textiles and soft furnishings Toiletries, cosmetics, and beauty products Toys, games and hobbies Vehicle and motorcycle sales Vehicle accessories Shoe repairs, etc.	Bakers and confectioners Butchers Confectionery, tobacconists and newsagents Convenience stores Fishmongers Frozen foods Greengrocers Grocers and delicatessens Health food Markets Off licences Supermarkets	Clothing and fancy dress hire Dry cleaners and laundrettes Filling stations Health and beauty Opticians Other retail services Photo processing Photo studio Post offices Repairs and restoration Travel agents TV, cable and video rental Vehicle rental Vehicle repairs and services Video tape rental
Leisure services	Financial and business services	Vacant outlets
Bars and wine bars Bingo and amusements Cafes Casinos and betting offices Cinemas and theatres Clubs Disco and nightclubs Fast food and take away Hotels and guest houses Public houses Restaurants Sports and leisure	Building societies Building supplies and services Business goods and services Employment and careers Financial services Legal services Other business services Printing and copying Property services Retail banks	Vacant retail and service Other vacant outlets

Source: Wrigley and Dolega (2011: 2363)



APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire in the streets. Target: consumers, advantaged and disadvantaged, living in Stellenbosch and Paarl. 12 min.

Location of questionnaire: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: .... / .... / 201..

Section 1. General information

1. Age category:

18-24	25-44	45-64	65+

2. Gender:        Female        Male

3. For how many years have you lived in Stellenbosch or Paarl?

0-5 years	5-10 years	10+ years

4. Could you indicate in which neighbourhood of the town you live?

5. Do you or your household own a car? YES / NO

6. Means of transportation?    6.1 Vehicle    6.2 On foot    6.3 Public transportation

Section 2. Shopping preferences

7. How often do you visit the city centre for shopping?

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Daily	Weekly	Every two weeks	Monthly	Yearly	Never

8. How often do you visit a shopping mall?

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Daily	Weekly	Every two weeks	Monthly	Yearly	Never

1. Please indicate what your opinion is about the following shopping places on the scales listed below:
- 2.

THE SHOPPING MALL

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Is a place with a pleasant environment					
Is an interesting place for shopping					
Is a safe place					
Is a place with good accessibility					
Is a parking-friendly district					
Is a clean place with interesting public spaces					
Is a district with a good assortment of retail offer					

Is a district with a good retail offer					
Is an interesting place to be in with family/friends					
Is a place known for its friendly shopkeepers					
Is a place where I can find almost everything I need					
Is an interesting place to stroll around and window shop					

**THE CITY CENTRE**

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Is a place with a pleasant environment					
Is an interesting place for shopping					
Is a safe place					
Is a place with good accessibility					
Is a parking-friendly district					
Is a clean place with interesting public spaces					
Is a district with a good assortment of retail offer					
Is a district with a good retail offer					
Is an interesting place to be in with family/friends					
Is a place known for its friendly shopkeepers					
Is a place where I can find almost everything I need					
Is an interesting place to stroll around and window shop					

**See last page for the last question**

10. Please indicate whether you rather visit the shopping mall or the city centre for the following products and services:

	<b>Shopping mall</b>	<b>City centre</b>
Supermarket		
Clothing/footwear/accessories		
Books/stationery		
Furniture, kitchen appliances, decorations		
Telephones and accessories		
Toys, games and hobbies		
Restaurants/cafes		
Fast food and take away		
Travel agents		
Repairs and restoration services		
Financial services or property services		
Other: _____		

Thank you very much for your co-operation.



**APPENDIX C: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (1)**

**In-depth interview: Companies, NGOs and government organisations**

*Permission letters required. Target: key informants; 20-40 minutes; possibly by e-mail.*

Institution or company: .....Location:..... Date: .... /.... /201..

Store category (if applicable):.....

---

**Introduction: Informed consent form**

I am Jeroen Venema and I am an international student of Stellenbosch University. I am currently engaged in a master’s programme on mall development. The aim of my master’s research project is to examine the impacts of mall development in Paarl and Stellenbosch.

Discuss the Informed Consent Form (ICF)

- 1. *Do you know why we are asking you to take part in this study? Do you know what the study is about?*
- 2. *If you decide not to take part in this research study, do you know what your options are? Do you know that you do not have to take part in this research study, if you do not wish to? Do you have any questions?*

---

**Standard questions**

- Do you think that shopping malls outside the central business district (CBD) of Stellenbosch/Paarl have an effect on the CBD’s shops?
  - Negative or positive?
  - Do you hear experiences from your company/organisation or others that the CBD is growing or declining in Stellenbosch and Paarl?
  - Do you hear experiences from your company/organisation or others that shopping malls are growing or declining in Stellenbosch and Paarl?
  - Considering growth or decline, do you see differences in type of stores?

*Growth or decline could be observed by vacancies, jobs, openings, closures and competition.*

**[Optional]: Municipalities, retail organisations and other governments. YES/NO**

4. Do you have any information, documents, research or data that could support the decline or increase in stores in the CBD of Paarl and Stellenbosch? Or in the shopping malls of Paarl and Stellenbosch? That could indicate economic decline or increase in malls and shops in the CBD:

*For example, could you provide one of these detailed information of Paarl and Stellenbosch shopping malls and CBD retail of the last 5 years?*

- *On turnover?*
- *Job employment?*
- *Vacancy rate?*
- *Occupations of stores?*
- *And in different types of shops?*

5. Could you describe local issues in Stellenbosch and Paarl among communities, individuals and groups that are effected by new shopping malls?

**[Optional]: Shopping mall Stellenbosch Square/Paarl Mall. YES/NO**

6. Has your shopping mall increased or decreased in the last 5 years? In jobs, closures, openings and/or vacancies?

- Do you see differences in types of shops?
  - What do you expect in the future? And in different types of shops?
7. Could you provide detailed information on the mall in the last 5 years?
- On turnover?
  - Job employment?
  - Vacancy rate?
  - Occupation of shops
  - And in different types of shops?
8. Could you possibly provide a map of the mall and its stores? And perhaps old store maps of the last 5 years?

**[Optional] Shop owners in the CBD of Paarl/Stellenbosch YES/NO**

9. Has your shop increased or decreased in the last 5 years?
10. Are there more shops or fewer shops in the CBD since 5 years ago? On jobs, closures, openings and/or vacancies?
- Do you see differences in type of shops?
  - What do you expect in the future for you and the CBD? A growth or decline and in different type of shops?

**[Optional] Shop owners in Stellenbosch Square and Paarl Mall YES/NO**

11. Has your shop increased or decreased in the last 5 years?
12. Has the shopping mall increased or decreased in the last 5 years? On jobs, closures, openings and/or vacancies?
- Do you see differences in type of shops?
  - What do you expect in the future for you and the shopping mall? A growth or decline and in different type of shops?
13. Could you sketch which stores have disappeared in the last 5 years and which stores are new in the shopping mall?

**[Optional]: Case officer of Stellenbosch Square and Paarl Mall development YES/NO**

*Discussion of the approved EIA and rezoning of the shopping malls.*

14. Are the listed conditions that were agreed for the approved rezoning/application monitored and implemented?
15. Have there been any ex-post studies on, evaluation of the approved application of Paarl Mall/Stellenbosch Square?
- \*16. In the case of Stellenbosch Square (19 Apr 2002), why are conditions 21, 23, 24, 25 and 26 deleted?
17. Are there any consequences in case a certain condition would not have been fulfilled?
- \*18. In the case of Paarl Mall, the applicant has promised a revitalisation of the CBD of Paarl. To what extent were steps taken by the municipality to put this through?
19. Is there anything important you have to say about these particular shopping malls in relation to their approval, monitoring and evaluation process?

**Standard ending questions**

- Do you know any other important key informants who could help me further in my research?
- Is there anything else you would like to cover or clarify?



- Might it be possible to contact you again to ask any further questions when necessary?

Thank you for your co-operation.



**APPENDIX D: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (2)**

**Interview scheme (example Paarl Mall) for local community, groups and individuals.**

**Target: local residents, Paarl Mall and Stellenbosch Square. 20-40 minutes.**

Name: .....

Date: .... / .... / 2015

My name is Jeroen Venema and I am an international student of Stellenbosch University. I am currently engaged in a master’s programme on mall development. The aim of the research project is to examine the impacts of mall development in Paarl.

It is hereby assured that the information will be regarded completely confidential and the results will only be used for academic purposes. Your kind co-operation in this venture is gratefully acknowledged and appreciated.

---

You have been selected because you live close to Paarl Mall and I would like to ask you some questions about your opinions on the specific mall.

**Introductory questions**

1a. How often do you visit Paarl Mall?

A Daily      B. Weekly      C. Every 2 weeks      D. Monthly      E. Yearly      F. Never

1b. Where do you mainly go for groceries?

1c. Do you like to visit Paarl Mall?

1d. Is it convenient for shopping?

1e. Can you get everything you need?

1f. Is it a nice place to meet family and friends?

1g. Has it a pleasant environment?

**Paarl Mall start-up phase**

2. How did you hear about the coming of the mall for the first time?

2a. What was your first reaction towards the coming of the Paarl Mall?

Negative or positive?

2b. The coming of Paarl Mall is a good thing. Do you agree?

2c. Did you participate in the planning process of the mall?

IF YES:

2d. How was the participation?

2e. Did you object?

2f. Was your objection considered?

2g. Were there some impacts considered as far as you know? On residents, other possible impacts?

3. Were there any positive or negative experiences in relation to the permit process and building of the mall back in 2000-2005?

**Paarl Mall now**

*The mall has been built and is operational.*

4. Are there any positive or negative experiences in relation to the current mall?

Positive: ? Considering jobs? Shop conveniences? House value?

Negative: Environmental?

5. What kind of further positive or negative implications do you see in mall development?

6. Is there anything else you would like to explain or clarify?

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

## APPENDIX E: USE OF GOOGLE STREET VIEW IMAGES

Taken from Google (2015b):

Street View imagery may be incorporated into your project if 1) the imagery comes directly from the [Google Maps API](#) or 2) the imagery is embedded or linked to on your website using the HTML and URL provided on [Google Maps](#). These solutions ensure that if Google edits or removes imagery in response to user requests, these changes will be reflected in your project as well.

You may print Google-owned Street View content from Maps and Earth for personal use but not for distribution to others. If your project is both academic and non-commercial, you may also print a small number of Street View images (10 or fewer panoramas) for use in your materials, if the imagery does not contain people or identifiable vehicle license plate numbers. In all cases, you must attribute the imagery to Google. If you have an academic and non-commercial request for Street View imagery that does not qualify under these guidelines, you may contact us at [streetview-academic@google.com](mailto:streetview-academic@google.com) with the details of your project to request permission.

No other print uses of Street View imagery are allowed. Note that some imagery in Street View is provided by entities other than Google, as indicated in its photo credits; in those instances permission must be obtained from the third party.

If your project meets the requirements above, no explicit permission is required for your project. We are unable to sign any letter or contract specifying that your project has our explicit permission.